

TITLE

FROM IDENTITY TO LIBERATION:  
TOWARDS A NEW PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL  
PARADIGM OF SCOTTISH NATIONHOOD

by

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# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis re-examines the images of Scotland as a Christian nation, from the perspective of contextual theology. In the opening chapter, it presents the argument that several contextual theologies of Christian nationhood have been operating in Scottish history. They have affirmed the country's Christian national identity by offering practical theological models of Scotland as a Christian nation. Together, these contextual theologies of identity, and their models of Christian nationhood, have formed one diverse and yet coherent tradition, or dominant practical theological paradigm of Scotland.

The central three chapters study this paradigm of the Christian nation in its three main historical forms: the medieval Catholic model of a free nation; the post-reformation Reformed model of a godly nation; and the more modern, secularized Christian ethical model of a moral nation. This paradigm of the Christian nation has been socially significant in shaping Scottish nationhood, although far less so today. It has been theologically creative in developing new models of the Christian nation, in response to the changing context of Scottish nationhood. And yet, its evangelical praxis has also been socially constrained through its establishment within the structures of power in national life.

The final chapter argues that this paradigm is no longer adequate sociologically or theologically to guide Christian praxis in the late twentieth century. A paradigm shift is required, moving away from the residual older models of a Christian nation, towards embracing the emerging liberating models of church and nation - models responsive to the cultural dynamics of autonomy and self-determination in a post-modern, pluralist Scottish nation and yet faithful to the gospel. The thesis concludes by suggesting the outlines of a Scottish contextual theology of liberation and a new Christian paradigm of Scotland as an open nation - open even in its post-modern nationhood, to the horizons and presence of the Kingdom of God.



I declare that this thesis has been composed by me and is entirely my own work during my period of supervised postgraduate study at New College.

Signed

William Forbes Storrar

For my Parents  
Ian and Elizabeth Storrar  
who nurtured me in the love of God  
and  
shared with me their love of Scotland  
  
with my love  
and thanks

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Let me stand today for the rights of the weak  
and the oppressed.  
Today, O Lord, let me put Thee before all else.

JOHN BAILLIE, A Diary of Private Prayer

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## Introduction

This thesis within the field of practical theology is concerned with Christian practice in the context of nationhood and national identity. It is a question which has been addressed by practical theologians from at least the early nineteenth century, when the German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher wrestled with the defeat of Prussia by Napoleon in 1806: 'From this point on, Schleiermacher's perceived context in which theology and ethics were worked out, widened decidedly from that of the domestic hearth and cultured salon to that of the nation, in its struggle for identity and in its relations with other nations.'<sup>1</sup> After the horror of two world wars and the Holocaust, theologians have rightly been highly critical of the religious nationalism developed in Protestant Germany, and other European and Western countries, and so fatally compromised in the evils of these events.<sup>2</sup> Theological reflection on nations and nationalism has not been a dominant element in the political theology of the post-war period.<sup>3</sup> And yet, while liberalism, marxism and much recent political theology expected the withering away of nation-states and nationalism in the late twentieth century, they have been faced instead with the collapse of communism and the resurgence of nationalism and ethnic politics throughout Europe. This has left political theology wrong-footed.

Alongside these theological, ideological and historical developments, the late twentieth century West has also experienced social change leading to what some sociologists have termed 'post-modernity'; in which the grand universal schemes of cultural meaning, through particular revelation in pre-modern Christendom and through universal reason in Enlightenment modernity, have collapsed into a post-modern 'pluriverse' of cultures, meanings and identities. In such a context of social change and profound intellectual shift, a new type of 'post-nationalism' has been identified, in which the 'rootless nomads' of post-modernity find one among several of their levels of meaningful community and identity in autonomous nations within larger supra-national economic and political associations. In the post-modern world, the nation-states that were the dominant social containers of modernity, and the sealed repositories of a narrow range of exclusive loyalties and identities, are seen as being left on the shelf of history. Post-modernity offers instead a supermarket of identities and communities among which the autonomous self-determining citizen makes her choice and personal integration.<sup>4</sup> This is a very different social context for understanding nations from that of Schleiermacher and his 1813 sermons, or even Karl Barth and the Barmen Declaration. This thesis is set within that altered practical theological debate and sociological analysis.



In particular, this thesis addresses the question of nationhood and nationalism in Scotland from a Reformed theological perspective. Given that these Western practical theological traditions of reflection on nationhood have either been compromised or wrong-footed by history, in the 'schools' of Schleiermacher or Barth, this thesis has looked to two other theological sources to 'construct a local theology' of Scottish nationhood.<sup>5</sup> The first source is Scotland's own native contextual theological tradition of reflection and practice on its nationhood, imagined as a Christian national identity and community. The thesis has sought to identify, analyse and articulate that Scottish theological tradition, its history, insights, development and present crisis in face of post-modern Scottish nationhood and nationalism.

The second theological source has been the emerging theologies of liberation in Latin America and around the world. While concerned primarily with the liberation of the oppressed poor in a Third World context, liberation theology offers a theological method that addresses the fundamental problem of the liberation of the 'non-person' from all forms of social, economic, cultural, political, personal and spiritual sin, in every human context, through the liberating praxis of the gospel.<sup>6</sup> This thesis will consider the ways in which such an approach might be relevant to a Scottish context, and to the

oppression and liberation of the 'non-person' from the dominant power structures and inherited Christian paradigm of contemporary Scottish nationhood.<sup>7</sup> A new global contextual theological method that centres on social conflict and liberation in Christ among the marginal and powerless in national life, rather than on defending the established interests and identity of a Christian nation, may prove fruitful in renewing the local Scottish theological tradition. This would involve a fundamental paradigm shift in its theological and sociological approach to reading the dynamics of Scottish nationhood. It would call for a new Christian practice in church, society and state and a new Christian paradigm.

This thesis seeks to address these questions. In chapter 1, it considers the nature of nations and nationalism, including Scottish nationhood and nationalism; and seeks to develop an appropriate conceptual framework and method for analysing the historical Scottish theological tradition of 'Christian nationhood.' In chapters 2, 3 and 4, that interpretative framework and method are used to identify three key and influential models of the Christian nation operative in that tradition, in the medieval Catholic, reformation and secular modern periods. The final chapter 5 argues for a paradigm shift to a new liberating paradigm and praxis in the context of social conflict in post-modern Scotland.

## Notes

1. Keith W. Clements, Friedrich Schleiermacher: Pioneer of Modern Theology (London: Collins, 1987), p.28. See pp.58-61, for Clements' assessment of Schleiermacher's theology of 'Nation, Church and State', including the controversial question of the disputed link between his religious nationalism, which regarded the nation as 'the widest boundary of human belonging' and 'a human entity specifically created by God with its own individuality to be preserved by all means', and the racist nationalism of the 'German Christians' in the 1930s. See his sermon, 'A Nation's Duty in a War for Freedom', March 1813, expressing his influential nationalist views as the German states fought for their freedom against Napoleon, pp.235-53. This thesis rejects Schleiermacher's religious nationalism but his work represents perhaps the pioneering practical theological reflection on questions of nationhood and national identity.

2. See Keith W. Clements, A Patriotism for Today: Love of Country in Dialogue with the Witness of Dietrich Bonhoeffer (London: Collins, 1986), and John de Gruchy, Bonhoeffer and South Africa: Theology in Dialogue (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1984), for two studies of the critical response of theologians like Bonhoeffer and Barth to nationalism, not least the Schleiermacher tradition of religious nationalism.

3. For example, in the works of theologians like Jurgen Moltmann, there is a greater emphasis on 'universal questions' of human oppression, human rights, feminism, environmental concerns and poverty, in the West, Third World and globally. But see Wolfhart Pannenberg, Ethics (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Westminster Press, 1981), and his essay there on 'The Nation and Humanity', pp.132-50.

4. See David McCrone, Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992). , pp.1-15, pp.196, 215, 219, 221.

5. See Robert J. Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies (London: SCM Press, 1985).

6. See Duncan B. Forrester, Theology and Politics (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp.64-4.

7. See John W. de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology: A South African Contribution to an Ecumenical Debate (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1991), and his Bonhoeffer and South Africa, pp.125-31, 'The Liberating Lordship of Jesus Christ'.

The Christian Nation Paradigm

Scotland is a Christian nation. This perception has underpinned Christian practice in relation to Scottish nationhood since at least the fourteenth century. It is one of many perceptions that are now being brought into question in contemporary Scotland. As Cairns Craig, the editor of the Determinations series of books on culture and politics in Scotland has written in the series Preface:

Too often in Scotland, a particular way of seeing our culture, of representing ourselves, has come to dominate our perceptions because it has gone unchallenged - worse, unexamined. The vitality of the culture should be measured by the intensity of the debate which it generates rather than the security of the ideas on which it rests. And should be measured by the extent to which creative, philosophical, theological, critical and political ideas confront each other.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis is a practical theological critique of that particular way of seeing Scotland, and representing the Scots, as a 'Christian nation'. It will argue that the set of assumptions about gospel and culture, church and nation, and church and state, found within the notion of Christian nationhood, has dominated Christian perceptions of Scotland and, historically, has shaped Scottish ways of representing the nation's experience and identity, into the late twentieth century. Too often these assumptions have gone unchallenged and unexamined

in the life of the church if not the nation.

On examination, it will be found that these assumptions are no longer adequate to understand the changing nature of Scotland as a nation, including the rise of Scottish nationalism in the twentieth century. Nor can they provide the basis for a coherent practical theological approach to the issues facing contemporary Scottish nationhood. In response to this situation, the thesis will offer a new set of assumptions, out of which may emerge new perceptions about Scottish nationhood and new possibilities for Christian and human practice in a contemporary Scottish context.

In short, the pre- and post-reformation national church in Scotland, the historic Ecclesia Scoticana, has been concerned to sustain the Christian identity of the nation. In the present period of transition in church and nation, it will be argued that the theological responsibility of the Church of Scotland, as the national church and institutional bearer of that theological tradition of Christian nationhood, must be to seek a new and ecumenical approach to Scottish nationhood. Such an approach will involve developing a liberating role in the life of the nation, even at the risk of losing its own historical role in sustaining national identity. As Charles Villa-Vicencio has written of a similar theological project in a South African context:

To acknowledge the presence of God at the centre of life has to do with the public meaning of the gospel. To do so in a religionless way is to be prepared to promote this meaning without drawing attention to the church. It has to do with affirming a liberating reality at the centre of the political arena which challenges and transcends what the political elite may regard 'liberation', 'national identity' or 'political realism' to mean at any given time, while recognising that specific, concrete and realistic steps are required to attain this goal in the here and now.<sup>2</sup>

It is the contention of this thesis that contemporary Christian practice, in the Reformed tradition of the Church of Scotland, is inhibited in significant ways by what will be termed the Christian nation paradigm; that such a paradigm no longer provides an intellectually credible or socially plausible framework for Christian practice in a Scottish context or an adequate Christian understanding of Scottish nationhood into the twentyfirst century. A 'paradigm shift' is required to enable a more constructive Christian praxis in the context of what will be termed post-modern notions of nationhood and nationalism in Scotland. The tentative outline of a new paradigm will be suggested, emerging out of the present crisis of Christian practice for the Church of Scotland as the national church.

### Definitions

It is important to define at the outset the key terms and concepts that will be used in arguing for the

thesis that a practical theological critique of the Christian nation paradigm of Scotland will result in a shift from a contextual theology of identity to one of liberation and to the emergence of a new practical theological paradigm of Scottish nationhood. In particular, introductory accounts must be given of the following terms,

- (1) the notion that, historically, Scotland has been a Christian nation, underpinned by the key national institution of a national church,
- (2) the definitions of nation and nationalism used in the thesis,
- (3) the key term 'paradigm' and its use of historical 'models' and 'ideal types' in a thesis concerned with practical theology rather than church history, and,
- (4) the thesis' primary interest in a Scottish contextual theology.

#### 1. The Origins of Scotland as a 'Christian Nation'

Scotland was first conceived in the recognisable terms of natio or nationhood, 'a notion of community wider than the tribe', during the early tenth century.<sup>3</sup> In Scotland: A New History, Michael Lynch notes 'an important change in the notion of what the people and the land were', after 900:

The early tenth century is the date of the composition of the Senchus fer n Alban which recast a new origin legend, not simply for the mac Alpin kings but also for their people, who are seen as 'men of Alba' rather

than of Dalriada. The subjects of Constatntine II went into battle against the Vikings in 918 with the cry of Albanaich! ... the basis of his power rested on a new identification of the regnum and gens. Added to this was the significance of the word Alba itself. Before 900 it had been synonymous with the whole of Britain; after 900 it became increasingly identified with the land over which the king of Scots ruled and in which their people lived. By 1034, when Malcolm at his death was hailed as 'king of Scotia' or 'Scotland', the process was virtually complete. A compelling image of a trinity of king, land and people had been coined; it would last for centuries.<sup>4</sup>

Even in that critical early period in the formation of the country's sense of a national identity, it is probable that the church, with a recorded presence in Scotland since the fifth and sixth centuries with the work of Ninian and Columba<sup>5</sup>, played a key role: 'The makers of this new identity for king and people are unknown. But it is very likely that they were drawn from the learned orders of the clergy of the dual Church of Picts and Scots, whose status depended on that of the king.'<sup>6</sup> From such evidence it can be argued that the notion of Scotland as a nation extends over eleven centuries and that the Christian influence among the tribes that would eventually constitute Alba pre-dates that formation of national self-consciousness, in the period from c.850-1050, and is therefore inseparable from the development of Scottish identity.

The importance of this Christian context in the



early formation of what would develop into a strong Scottish national consciousness is suggested by an Irish comparison made by Lynch. The Irish historian Donnchadh O Corrain has noted, in an essay on nationality in pre-Norman Ireland, that '... we are at a loss to know precisely what consciousness the Irish had of themselves outside the Christian context, for the earliest Irish records in regard to this question - the genealogies, origin legends and related materials - are a tangled skene of pagan and Christian threads.'<sup>7</sup> This close relationship between Christianity and nationhood in Scotland was to be sealed by the rise of a national Church:

The first explicit recognition of a national 'Scottish Church' came in a papal bull of 1174, which acknowledged its status as a 'special daughter' of Rome. There are, however, many examples in the later tenth and the eleventh centuries of bishops of Kilrimont who were called either 'Bishop of the Scots' or 'High Bishop of Scotland'.... By then, well before the better-known efforts of Queen Margaret and her sons between 1070 and 1153, the firm foundations of a distinctive, national Church had been laid. A close link between Church and King, the merger of two cults of national saints [Columba and Andrew] and a new vision of the duty of Christian kings had all existed since the eighth century. Yet each of these developments had in turn come from the varied experiences of the different early kingdoms which made up the later composite kingdom of the Scots.<sup>8</sup>

The perception of Scotland as a Christian nation is rooted in the historical formation of Scottish national consciousness and the integral role played by Christian clergymen, symbols and legends, literature, and the institution of a national church in shaping and defining

that sense of nationhood. This Scottish process was part of a wider phenomenon in Europe, where the Christian religion and political community were becoming fused in the polity of Christendom:

It is not surprising that Pictish Kings should begin to see themselves as God-given patrons of the Church after the fashion of the Roman Christian Emperor Constantine. The adoption by Pictish kings of the cult of Constantine (with no less than four kings so called between 789 and 997) mirrors its growing popularity after c.750 in western Europe, where the majesty of kingship and its nearness to God became increasingly intertwined, especially with the reign of Charlemagne.<sup>9</sup>

The self-understanding of Scotland as a Christian nation must therefore be seen within the wider European context of Christendom, and its assumptions that the peoples of Europe form one corpus Christianum.<sup>10</sup> To describe Scotland as a Christian nation means that the Christian Church, its religion, symbols, polity and social concepts, informed the creation of a sense of Scottish nationhood as the mac Alpin dynasty extended their rule into a recognisable kingdom of Scots between c.850-1050, such that the kings and peoples of Alba thought of themselves as a Christian kingdom, people and land. More than that, to call Scotland a Christian nation means that the church and Christian symbols became integral to the sustaining and renewal of a sense of national identity in the subsequent history of Scotland. The thesis will consider, in chapters 2, 3 and 4, the ways in which the idea of a Christian nation changed over time from the Christian nationalism of medieval Catholic Scotland, to

the covenant nation ideology of Reformed Scotland and its secularized version in the Christian ethical community ideal operative in Scotland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In using the term 'the church', the thesis is concerned with the Ecclesia Scoticana, the national church seen by Lynch as already identifiable by the late tenth and eleventh centuries, and formally recognised in the papal bull of 1174, as the filia specialis of Rome. After the Protestant reformation of 1560, the national church became, by act of Parliament, the Reformed church, with its Scots Confession.<sup>11</sup> In the period after the reformation, therefore, the thesis will focus on the Church of Scotland as the national church, and those presbyterian churches that seceded from and were reunited with it.

This is not to dismiss the existence or significance of other churches in Scotland, but to limit the academic scope of the thesis to the notion of the national church. Unless specific mention is made of other denominations, including the Roman Catholic Church as it recovered its numerical strength and hierarchy in nineteenth century Scotland, references to the church will mean the national church in these two historical senses, pre- and post-Reformation, as recognised by the state as the church of the Scottish nation. The term

'Kirk' will also be used as a synonym for the national church. However, the practical and theological questions posed by the existence of other churches for the identity of the Church of Scotland as the national church will be considered in chapter 4.

It is not part of this thesis to defend the Reformed theological argument that there is continuity of ecclesiastical identity and Christian mission between the Celtic, Roman and Reformed churches, as the one Scottish branch of the one Catholic Church, although reference will be made to it as part of the self-understanding of the Church of Scotland as the national church.<sup>12</sup> However, it will be argued that there has been a national church, in different forms, throughout the history of the Scottish nation and into the present, and that the national church has been a key institution in shaping Scotland's national consciousness. Commenting on the Scots' tendency to see their nation as a second Israel, a chosen people, James Kellas has noted:

When 'God's People' have a national church of their own this gives a strong institutional support to national identity and nationalism. Institutions tend to give rise to 'vested interests' which are social and economic as well as ideological. The Scottish nation is closely identified with the Church of Scotland, and even before the presbyterian Reformation the Christian Church was organised separately in Scotland. Thus the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath to the Pope sought national recognition for Scotland within the Roman Catholic Church as well as political independence for Scotland.<sup>13</sup>

It is the concern of the thesis to argue that this national church has been integral to the notion of the Christian nation and that both concepts are now contested and problematic. The theological task set here is to re-examine the notion of a national church in the context of the changing nature of Scottish nationhood and a liberating understanding of the gospel.

## 2. The use of the terms 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'

It is ironic that as the late twentieth century witnesses the resurgence of nationalism in Europe, as in other parts of the world, the academic study of nations has yet to agree on a common definition of what constitutes the terms 'nation' and 'nationalism', or, indeed, on where their historical and intellectual genealogy may be traced. The use of the term nation in this thesis must be set in the context of the debate about the nature and origins of nationalism.

Scholars of nationalism like Elie Kedourie have argued that nationalism as an ideology is a modern phenomenon that can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, following on from the philosophies of the Enlightenment and the events and doctrines of the French Revolution. As Kedourie states at the beginning of his essay on nationalism:

Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the

determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own.... Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government. Not the least triumph of this doctrine is that such propositions have become accepted and are thought to be self-evident, that the word nation has been endowed by nationalism with a meaning and a resonance which until the end of the eighteenth century it was far from having.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, Eugene Kamenka has written, 'Nationalism, we shall be arguing, is a modern and initially a European phenomenon, best understood in relation to the developments that produced, and were symbolised by, the French Revolution of 1789.'<sup>15</sup> Such scholars argue that a distinctive new ideology and movement emerged with the French Revolution and its doctrine of the sovereignty of the nation, as stated in the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen': 'The principle of sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation; no body of men, no individual, can exercise authority that does not emanate expressly from it.'<sup>16</sup> With the emergence of nationalism, in this modern sense, there developed a new understanding of 'the nation'. Prior to the French Revolution, they argue, the term nation had been used to denote different communities of students within medieval universities, defined by language or land of origin, or the political community of church and state leaders, the king, the aristocracy and the bishops. Nationalism rejected that understanding of

the nation and, according to Kedourie, replaced it with a popular definition:

... when the revolutionaries stated that 'the principle of sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation' they may be taken to have asserted that the Nation was more than the King and the Aristocracy  
.... A nation is a body of people to whom a government is responsible through their legislature; any body of people associating together, and deciding on a scheme for their own government, form a nation....17

It was this expansion of the term nation to include a whole people who chose to live under the same form of popular government that marked the novel and revolutionary re-definition of nationhood by nationalism, which would later be exported around the world.

The problem with this definition of nationalism is that it dismisses any historical evidence for antecedent forms of nationalism and nationhood in the pre-eighteenth century or pre-modern period. Nowhere is that more the case than in Scotland, where historians and political scientists have argued that it is necessary to recognise a form of nationalist ideology as early as the fourteenth century. The historian William Ferguson, in his study of Anglo-Scottish relations, has noted a surprisingly 'modern' nationalist ring to the Scottish tracts written against the Treaty of Union of 1707:

... running through all the anti-unionist tracts there is a strong sense of 'Mazzinian' nationalism, which appears most obviously in the contention that the rights of the nation transcend the claims of the state. Most students of the union have dismissed these views as moonshine, arguing that no real sense of nationalism then

existed. But the critics are themselves in error. Nationalism is not set in one mould but capable of expressing itself in many ways; and that it existed long before Napoleon and Mazzini is not open to doubt. On this question the evidence from Britain is conclusive; in both England and Scotland an early form of nationalism of surprising maturity can be traced back to the fourteenth century. It is, for example, implicit in the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320, which in 1706-7 furnished useful weapons for the anti-unionists.... Since the rights of the nation were so constantly invoked during the union debate, we may well consider that the Mazzinian idiom was new, but the nationalism itself was old. The contrary case depends not on the interpretation of historical evidence but on its suppression and the imposition of current shibboleths.<sup>18</sup>

This defence of a pre-modern nationalism on historical grounds is supported by the case made by the political scientist James Kellas in his own theoretical work on The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity.<sup>19</sup> Kellas considers the origins of the idea of the nation and takes issue with those who would argue that nations and nationalism are modern developments, whether intellectually and politically through the French Revolution, as with Kedourie, or economically and socially, through the rise of capitalism and industrialisation, as in the analysis of Ernest Gellner.<sup>20</sup> Supported by the work of Anthony Smith<sup>21</sup>, who has argued for the ethnic origins of nations, his approach 'pushes back the idea of the nation to the point where it was first expressed, rather than to the point when nationalist ideology was first articulated ('the Age of Nationalism' in the nineteenth century).'<sup>22</sup>



Significantly, he then cites the example of Scotland, at some length, to substantiate his case for the pre-modern origins and existence of nations and nationalism:

We can see how this approach works when we look at the history of the Scottish nation. An early manifestation of national consciousness and nationalism is seen in the 'Declaration of Arbroath' of 1320. This was a letter sent by a group of Scottish nobles and others to the Pope, seeking his support for the independence of Scotland, which was being threatened by England. The letter asserts the idea of a Scottish nation, and propounds an ideology which equates national independence for Scotland with freedom for the national community, itself seen as a natural right. Similar statements about nationality and nationalism can be found in all parts of the world, but there are few which have survived in documentary form from such an early period... .23

Drawing on such supporting evidence, it will be argued that the terms nation and nationalism must be applied in a qualified form to describe the history of Scotland since at least the fourteenth century. It may be more helpful to speak of Scotland as an example of pre-modern nationhood and nationalism, granted that the idea of the nation and the ideology of nationalism took on a distinctive character in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries. This is a point that Kellas readily admits:

Of course, the idea of the nation has developed over the centuries, even if its essence has not changed. During the French Revolution in the late eighteenth century, the nation took on a new political meaning which linked nationalism to the aim of popular sovereignty. This meant that the nation was no longer to be passive in the government of the state, but was to be an active participant, without which there would be no legitimate authority. The signatories of the 1320

Declaration of Arbroath could have no concept of participant popular sovereignty, even although they linked the legitimacy of the king to the defence of the nation. Modern Scottish nationalism breaks with the existing governmental and state structure, while the fourteenth century Scottish nationalists were defending their state and church from English attacks.<sup>24</sup>

The understanding of nation and nationalism employed here is one that, first, assumes that they are terms which may legitimately be used of Scotland in the pre-modern period, to describe the sense of community and the ideological defence of that community from the medieval period onwards, while recognising that their meaning has changed over time, above all around the time of the French Revolution. Indeed, it will be argued in chapters 4 and 5 that sociological evidence will require a theory of post-modern nationalism, to account for the intellectual and social changes influencing nationalism in the contemporary Western world. The sociologist David McCrone has described the survival of a distinctive pattern of Scottish political life in the post-1945 period in such post-modern terms, as a form of 'post-nationalism':

Perhaps this expression of political difference - a nationalism if you want - has developed without the encumbrance of a heavy cultural baggage.... It is almost a cultureless, post-industrial journey into the unknown. In this respect, it seems to conform to a kind of 'post-materialist' politics ... not in the sense that it is unconcerned with economic issues, but that it seems to have left behind the kind of nationalist and culturalist agendas bequeathed from nineteenth and early twentieth century politics. Scotland like other societies, may be entering the post-nationalist

age. The vehicle on that journey, ironically, seems to be nationalism itself.<sup>25</sup>

But given the developing nature of nations and nationalism over time, can their 'essential nature' be defined? There remains the problematic of agreeing on any universal definition of the terms nation and nationalism, even if the pre-modern, modern and post-modern existence of these historical and social phenomena in Scotland is accepted. What is almost universally agreed is that no one definition of what constitutes a nation is adequate to describe all the forms of human community adopting this title.<sup>26</sup> Hugh Seton-Watson wrote, in his enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism, Nations and States, that he was 'driven to the conclusion that no "scientific definition" of a nation can be devised: yet the phenomenon has existed and exists':

All that I can find to say is that a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one. It is not necessary that the whole nation should so feel, or so behave, and it is not possible to lay down dogmatically a minimum percentage of a population which must be so affected. When a significant group holds this belief, it possesses 'national consciousness'.<sup>27</sup>

This definition of the nation, which puts the emphasis on a group's own self-perception rather than any assessment of objective criteria, has been taken up by Benedict Anderson. In his reflections on the origin and

spread of nationalism, in a study called Imagined Communities, Anderson proposes the following definition of the nation, 'it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.'<sup>28</sup> In calling the nation an 'imagined community', Anderson does not mean that it is a false and not a 'true' community, as Gellner might argue in his criticism that 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.'<sup>29</sup> Rather, for Anderson:

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion... [Gellner] implies that 'true' communities exist which can be advantageously juxtaposed to nations. In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face to face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.<sup>30</sup>

Nations are imagined in the style of limited, sovereign political communities, according to Anderson. They are imagined as limited communities because 'No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind.'<sup>31</sup> Even expansionary, 'messianic nationalists' do not want to include all humanity in their community, as world religions like Christianity may have sought to do in certain epochs. Nations are imagined as sovereign communities because they emerged, according to Anderson, at a stage in human history, the Enlightenment and French

Revolution, when the legitimacy of all-embracing dynastic and religious communities was being destroyed. For a plurality of territorial nations, the dream of being free was realised through each having its own sovereign state. If that freedom was imagined as existing under God, then the nation enjoyed it 'directly so'.<sup>32</sup> And, finally, the nation is imagined as a community because it overcomes the vertical socio-economic divisions of class, rank or hierarchy in a sense of common existence:

... it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.<sup>33</sup>

For Anderson, this last point, the willingness of people to die for their nation, is profoundly significant. The rise of nationalism in the modern period is closely tied to the decline of traditional religious world-views. Religions offer an 'imaginative response to the overwhelming burden of human suffering - disease, mutilation, grief, age and death' and 'religious thought also responds to obscure intimations of immortality, generally by transforming fatality into continuity' for the mortal individual.<sup>34</sup> With the decline of such traditional religious beliefs, nationalism offers a more secular, cultural form of consolation and sense of destiny beyond individual

mortality. More progressive or evolutionary styles of thought, like liberalism or marxism, cannot offer these comforts or answers to the meaning of death and immortality, 'If the nationalist imagining is so concerned, this suggests a strong affinity with religious imaginings.'<sup>35</sup> Anderson concludes:

... I am not claiming that the appearance of nationalism towards the end of the eighteenth century was 'produced' by the erosion of religious certainties, or that this erosion does not itself require a complex explanation. Nor am I suggesting that somehow nationalism historically 'supercedes' religion. What I am proposing is that nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being ... the two relevant cultural systems are the religious community and the dynastic realm.<sup>36</sup>

In as much as Anderson is arguing for the emergence of nationalism in the modern period, from the eighteenth century Enlightenment and French Revolution onwards, like Kedourie, Gellner, et. al., issue has already been taken above with that periodization of the origins of nationalism, in favour of an argument for the pre-modern existence of forms of nationalism, not least in Scotland. As for Anderson's linking of religious and nationalist imaginings in some qualified kind of supersessionary relationship, then, as Kellas argues in criticism of Anderson at this point:

As for religion, it seems that it is not always replaced by nationalism, but may go hand-in-hand with it. We have seen that churches have reinforced nationalism in such countries as Ireland, Poland, Armenia.... It is difficult

therefore, to relate the rise of nationalism to the decline of religion, except perhaps in some mainly materialist societies. In some cases, religion and nationalism thrive together; in others, where a church is strongly supranational (as the Roman Catholic Church ... ), there may be tension between loyalty to religion and loyalty to the state or nation. However, even supranational churches can underpin nationalist movements against oppressive states which deny nationalism its free expression.<sup>37</sup>

In the case of Scotland, it is clear that religion and nationalism were closely linked in the pre-modern period. With that qualification, this thesis will use Anderson's definition of the nation as an imagined, limited and sovereign political community in which, 'in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.'<sup>38</sup>

It will be argued that this definition serves to analyse and explain core elements in the developing Scottish sense of nationhood, and especially the role of Christianity in that historical and cultural process. The next three chapters of the thesis, 2,3, and 4, will examine the way in which Christianity provided some of the key 'images of their communion' for the Scots, as they imagined themselves in the style of a national political community. Anderson's definition of nation and theory of nationalism links religious community with national community and religious imaginings with national imaginings. It is the central concern of this thesis to study, from the critical perspective of practical theology, the interaction between Christian religious images of identity and community and the images of



identity and community sustaining a sense of Scottish nationhood, both historically and in the present.

It will be helpful to make one further addition to the definition of the nation used in the thesis. Kellas makes a distinction between 'ethnic nations', 'social nations' and 'official nations'. Ethnic groups are to be distinguished from nations in that they are more narrowly 'confined to those who share certain inborn attributes' and 'are more clearly based on a common ancestry'.<sup>39</sup> A nation is a wider, more inclusive community:

A nation is a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, and common ancestry. Nations have 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent (though not all of these are always present), and 'subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. In the last resort it is 'the supreme loyalty' for people who are prepared to die for their nation.<sup>40</sup>

Kellas also makes a distinction between nations and states, systems and structures of legitimate government and political authority. He points out that, 'While many states share the features of nations, and can be called "nation-states", there are also nations within states, and such states are correctly called "multinational states" .... today there are states consisting of more than one nation such as the United Kingdom'.<sup>41</sup> And so he defines an ethnic nation as a nation consisting of one ethnic group, a social nation as a nation formed by several ethnic groups, and an official nation as the body



constituted by the nationalism of the state.<sup>42</sup>

In the context of a study of Scottish nationhood, Kellas' terms can be usefully employed in understanding its historical development. In its origins and throughout its history Scotland has been a 'social' and not an 'ethnic nation'. Michael Lynch points out that at the battle of the Standard, in 1138, the Scottish King David I 'led a diverse army made up of "Normans, Germans, English, Northumbrians and Cumbrians, men of Teviotdale and Lothian, Galwegians and Scots". It was ... an astonishing assembly of the diverse peoples who comprised the kingdom of the Scots.'<sup>43</sup> While the Highland-Lowland division was to be a real social divide at certain periods in Scottish history, and racist attempts were made, particularly in the 1920s, to exclude the immigrant Catholic Irish from membership of an 'ethnic nation' of true (presbyterian) Scots, Scotland can best be described in Kellas' term as a social nation. It has also been an official nation for most of its history, until the last three centuries, knowing as it did political independence under its own state until the Union of Parliaments with England in 1707. Indeed, the earliest declaration of Scottish nationhood, in 1320, owes its origin to the nationalism of the state.

As for a definition of nationalism itself, it may be described as the ideological defence of those imagined

communities called nations. For Seton-Watson nationalism has two basic meanings: 'One of these meanings is a doctrine about the character, interests, rights and duties of nations. The second meaning is an organised political movement, designed to further the alleged aims and interests of nations.'<sup>44</sup> Kellas sees nationalism as 'both an ideology and a form of behaviour':

The ideology of nationalism builds on people's awareness of a nation ("national self-consciousness") to give a set of attitudes and a programme of action. These may be cultural, economic or political. Since "nation" can be defined in "ethnic", "social" or "official" senses, so nationalism can take these forms also. In all cases, nationalism seeks to defend and promote the interests of the nation. The political aspect of nationalism is seen most clearly in the demand for "national self-determination", or "home rule". For states, "official nationalism" means patriotism and the defence of "national sovereignty" in international relations. All types of nationalism seek a political expression for the nation, most strongly in independent statehood. Nationalists may settle for less, however. They may be content ... for a nation to be ... in a federal state ... or to have devolution....<sup>45</sup>

For Kellas, nationalist behaviour, 'based on the feeling of belonging to a community which is the nation', can be expressed in a range of ways, from prejudice against foreigners, to solidarity with co-nationals and, ultimately, a willingness to die for one's nation.

The term nationalism will be used in the thesis in the three senses offered above. According to the context, nationalism will mean, primarily, an ideology or doctrine about the 'character, interests, rights and

duties' of nations', defending and promoting the interests of the nation by building on national self-consciousness 'to give a set of attitudes and a programme of action', especially in the cause of national self-determination. It will also be used to describe forms of cultural, religious and political behaviour arising out of a sense of national identity; as well as those organised political movements designed to further the perceived aims and interests of the nation.

It should be noted that these definitions of the nation and nationalism are for the purpose of critical study of historical and social phenomena and do not imply any embracing or endorsement of the ideological self-understanding of nationalism by nationalists. In as much as nationalists and early writers on nationalism, from the later eighteenth century onwards, argued that there was a natural and original division of the human race into nations, as primordial and natural social communities, and that it was the innate right and necessity of every nation to have its own sovereign state, the definitions and analysis offered here reject both those kind of nationalist claims on historical, philosophical and theological grounds.<sup>46</sup>

It is a fundamental assumption of this thesis on Scottish nationhood that nations are not natural communities, with some primitive origin and universal

validity innate to the human condition, but the specific cultural products of human history in particular contexts of time and place, and must be studied and understood accordingly. As Anthony Smith has noted:

National loyalty and national character may not be inborn, and they are certainly historical phenomena; but their modernity, their embeddedness in a specific recent history, is anchored in an antiquity, a prehistory of ethnic ties and sentiments, going back to the Sumerians and ancient Egyptians.<sup>47</sup>

Nations and nationalism are here understood in terms of the historical development of the nation as an imagined community, creating different 'images of its communion' over time. For Scotland, that takes the idea of the nation back to the tenth century, drawing on older ethnic loyalties and Christian images of identity. The medieval nationalists of the Declaration of Arbroath went further and found images in the ethnic ties of mythical antiquity and in the Gospel stories. Christianity continued to be a source of key symbolic and communal images in the historical existence and self-understanding of the Scottish nation as an imagined political community into the twentieth century.

### 3. Paradigms, Models and Ideal Types

It is the central argument of this thesis that what will be termed a theological paradigm of the Christian nation has functioned as a theoretical and practical framework for the national church in its approach to

Scottish nationhood from at least the early fourteenth century into the later twentieth century. This paradigm has proved a productive and flexible framework for Christian practice in church and nation over seven centuries. It will be maintained that this theological paradigm no longer offers a faithful map and true perspective for Christian practice in the context of the cultural and political debate about Scottish nationhood indicated above. The key issues for Scottish society can no longer be adequately addressed by the terms of this paradigm, nor can it generate the new Christian practices demanded by the changing social and political context of Scottish nationhood. A 'paradigm shift' to a new paradigm of Christ and nation in Scotland is required, to inform and renew Christian practice and to transform the life of the nation.

Given this summary of the main proposition being argued in the thesis, it is important to define the use of the key term 'paradigm' as an appropriate concept for a practical theological approach to Scottish nationhood, and as a central concept in this thesis.

A rigorous conceptual analysis of the use made of the terms 'paradigm' and 'model' in science and religion is provided by Ian Barbour, in his study of Myths, Models and Paradigms.<sup>48</sup> It will be suggested that his definition and use of 'models' and 'paradigms' in

religion provide concepts that are appropriate to a practical theological critique of nations, understood as imagined communities.

The term 'paradigm' became familiar in academic discourse with the use made of it by Thomas S. Kuhn in his influential book, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.<sup>49</sup> He used 'paradigm', according to T. F. Torrance, a theologian particularly concerned with scientific thought, to describe the existing structures of scientific thought and practice built into the mental habits of scientific communities.<sup>50</sup> Tensions arise when scientific research produces discoveries so novel that they do not fit into the existing paradigms of the community: 'Hence a scientific revolution calls for a paradigmatic shift in the community rather like a conversion experience, a veritable restructuring of the mind.'<sup>51</sup> Ian Barbour has taken up this term from Kuhn and used it in a religious context:

Kuhn maintained that the thought and activity of a given scientific community are dominated by its paradigms, which he described as "standard examples of scientific work that embody a set of conceptual, methodological and metaphysical assumptions." Newton's work in mechanics, for instance, was the central paradigm of the community of physicists for two centuries. In the second edition (1970) of Kuhn's book and in subsequent essays he distinguished several key features which he had previously lumped together: a research tradition, the key historical examples ("exemplars") through which the tradition is transmitted, and the set of metaphysical assumptions implicit in its fundamental conceptual categories. Adopting these distinctions, I will use the term paradigm to refer to a tradition

transmitted through historical exemplars. The concept of paradigm is thus defined sociologically and historically, and its implications for epistemology (the structure and character of knowledge) must be explored.<sup>52</sup>

Thus for Barbour, defining a religious paradigm as a tradition transmitted through historical exemplars, 'The concept of paradigm keeps before us the importance of a community of shared purposes, attitudes and presuppositions.'<sup>53</sup> Barbour treats the Christian tradition as a paradigm, with Jesus Christ as its determinative exemplar. A notable feature of both Christianity and Judaism, for Barbour, is the participation of the worshipping congregation in a 'corporate history', in which faith communities are constituted not by visions or mystical experience, 'but by a common life in response to historical events.'<sup>54</sup> For Israel, the covenant at Sinai is the central event in its memory: 'The formation of a people, "a holy nation", was important because only a community could adopt a life of obedience and justice.'<sup>55</sup> Particular individuals, such as Abraham, Moses, David and the prophets, served within the continuing community of Israel as exemplars in the recollection of the covenant.

The centre of memory for the Christian community is Jesus Christ, who was seen by the first disciples as fulfilling and transforming Israel's expectations. According to Barbour, 'Here, too, it was through response

to events in history, not to theological ideas, that the community came into being, and recollection of these events serves to preserve its distinctive beliefs.'<sup>56</sup> The context of Christian life and thought is the church 'as a living community of forgiveness, mutual support and common memory'.<sup>57</sup>

For Barbour, an important characteristic of a religious tradition or paradigm is its capacity to change over time and according to context:

... a tradition is dynamic and developing, not an unchanging legacy from the past. Like a living organism, it is historically continuous and yet always growing. A community can understand its exemplars and its historic origins in new ways and can adapt to new circumstances and new problems. There can thus be both diversity and novelty within a tradition as each generation looks at the present and the future in the light of the past... As compared to scientific communities, religious communities are more dominated by the past and more reluctant to accept new ideas, but once again these are differences of degree rather sharp contrasts.<sup>58</sup>

One of the most important ways in which a dynamic religious tradition develops is through the re-interpretation of its experience. In this act of religious interpretation metaphors enable patterns of new meaning to be momentarily discerned. But to create in a more systematic fashion distinctive new ways of looking at things, religious paradigmatic traditions develop 'models': 'In using religious models we find new patterns in the world around us and in our lives.'<sup>59</sup> And



so, for example, the Christian paradigm interprets the world as a creation, individual and corporate life as a dialogue with the 'divine Thou', moral choice as responsibility to God and neighbour and the person of Christ in different Christological models.

While a religious tradition can re-interpret its experience through a range of such models, it does set limits: 'A given community can use a variety of models in such interpretation, but its paradigm tradition sets limits on the range of acceptable models and gives emphasis to those experiences whose interpretation it considers most significant.'<sup>60</sup> Above all, it is the memory of the exemplars which transmits the paradigmatic tradition, both in science and religion, and so sets its limits. For the Christian community and its Christian paradigm or tradition, Christ and the events of his life are the exemplar: 'His life provides an image of authentic human existence, a style of life, a norm of integration and love, which shapes our self-understanding and action.... To the community, his life is revelatory; these particular events illuminate other events. To abandon this paradigm is to make a decision about the occurrence of revelation.'<sup>61</sup> As Barbour argues, a paradigm can have complementary models, but paradigms are not complementary because, in acknowledging the exemplars and adopting the assumptions of a particular tradition, only one such outlook can be embraced at a time.<sup>62</sup>

This raises the question of the reasons for abandoning one paradigm for another, a process which Kuhn calls a 'paradigm shift'. What are the grounds for making a choice between rival paradigms? Kuhn 'described the change of paradigms during a "scientific revolution" as a matter not of logical argument but of persuasion and "conversion"' because 'the criteria for judging theories are themselves paradigm-dependent.'<sup>63</sup>

For Barbour, there are criteria of assessment independent of particular scientific paradigms, and so, while recognising that 'when a new contender first challenges an accepted paradigm, the criteria do not yield an unambiguous verdict', he argues that eventually a consensus will emerge through debate.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, Barbour argues that while there are no rules for choosing between different religious paradigms, there are criteria of assessment that can be applied:

Though no decisive falsification is possible in religion, I have argued that the cumulative weight of evidence does count for or against religious belief. Religious paradigms, like scientific ones, are not falsified by data, but are replaced by promising alternatives. Commitment to a paradigm allows its potentialities to be explored, but it does not exclude reflective evaluation.<sup>65</sup>

As with paradigms, Barbour draws a comparison between religious and scientific uses of the term 'model', noting that model-building is now used within many intellectual disciplines, including the social

sciences. Generally, 'a model is a symbolic representation of selected aspects of the behaviour of a complex system for particular purposes. It is an imaginative tool for ordering experience, rather than a description of the world.'<sup>66</sup> Models in religion are used in a related but particular sense. Barbour states that theoretical models in science are 'neither literal pictures of reality nor "useful fictions", but partial and provisional ways of imagining what is not observable: they are symbolic representations of aspects of the world which are not directly accessible to us.'<sup>67</sup> Similarly,

Models in religion are also analogical. They are organising images used to order and interpret patterns of experience in human life. Like scientific models, they are neither literal pictures of reality nor useful fictions. One of the main functions of religious models is the interpretation of distinctive types of experience: awe and reverence, moral obligation, reorientation and reconciliation, inter-personal relationships, key historical events, and order and creativity in the world.... Other functions of religious models have no parallel in science. Models in religion express and evoke distinctive attitudes. They encourage allegiance to a way of life and adherence to policies of action; their vivid imagery elicits self-commitment and ethical dedication.<sup>68</sup>

Central to Barbour's definition of religious models is the use they make of images in organising experience in the real world and not just in subjective experience, influencing attitudes and behaviour and altering ways of seeing the world: 'They serve as "organising images" which give emphasis, selectively restructuring as well as interpreting our perceptions.'<sup>69</sup> A model is used in a

sustained and systematic way to evoke attitudes, guide behaviour, interpret experience and organise perceptions. Barbour stresses that in using models, 'claims are made about the world and not simply about human feelings and attitudes.'<sup>70</sup> For him, religious models have interpretive and cognitive as well as non-cognitive and expressive functions.

Having set out Barbour's use of paradigm and model in some detail, their appropriateness as analytical concepts in a practical theological approach to Scottish nationhood must now be considered. The nation has already been defined, adopting Anderson's anthropological definition, as an 'imagined political community': imagined because in the mind of each member of the nation 'lives the image of their communion', although each member does not know all other members personally or face to face; such communities are to be distinguished by 'the style in which they are imagined'; in the case of nations, they are imagined as limited to a particular community of people, sovereign over their own community affairs, and as a community 'conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship'. Any theological approach to nationhood must, therefore, be able to comprehend and relate to the terms of this definition and understanding of the nation.

It is Anderson himself who makes the connection

between national and religious 'imaginings' of community and identity, human meaning and purpose:

No more arresting emblems of the modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of the unknown soldier ... saturated with ghostly national imaginings.... The cultural significance of such monuments becomes even clearer if one tries to imagine, say, a Tomb of the Unknown Marxist or a cenotaph for fallen Liberals. Is a sense of absurdity avoidable? The reason is that neither Marxism or Liberalism are much concerned with death and immortality. If the nationalist imagining is so concerned, this suggests a strong affinity with religious imaginings... this affinity is by no means fortuitous....<sup>71</sup>

As has already been noted, Anderson locates the rise of nationalism in the eighteenth century and sees a significance in the fact that it was also the period that saw the decline of religious modes of thought. While religious belief ebbed, suffering continued: 'What then was required was a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning ... few things were (are) better suited to this end than an idea of nation.... It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny. With Debray we might say, "Yes, it is quite accidental that I am born French; but after all, France is eternal."' <sup>72</sup> Religious longing elides here into nationalist imagining. Anderson's linking of religious and nationalist 'imaginings' is a valid and fruitful one; although this thesis has not accepted his late, modern dating of the rise of nationalism, as opposed to its undoubted evolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The immediate theological response to this affinity would be to see in the nation and nationalism the danger of idolatry; the experience of religious nationalism in Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa or civil religion in the United States of America is a sober warning of the intellectual deception and moral betrayal that can occur when the nation is cloaked in religious meaning and imagery.<sup>73</sup> The idolatrous potential of nations and nationalism, as the objects of a false loyalty and worship incompatible with Christian worship and practice, will be an implicit assumption throughout this thesis.

Our concern here, however, is with the development of analytical concepts that will make sense of the meaning of nations and nationalism from a theological perspective. In that context, the centrality of 'image' both to Anderson's definition of nations and to the function of models within a religious paradigm suggests a fruitful line of enquiry for a practical theological understanding of Scottish nationhood. Barbour has argued for the role of 'imaginative models' within religious paradigms in interpreting religious experiences and events, in a way that can be transposed into a way of understanding the role of Christianity in providing key 'images of communion' for the imagined community of Scottish nationhood.

Models function as 'organising images' which not

only interpret but also selectively restructure our perceptions, influencing attitudes and behaviour as well as altering ways of seeing the world. Such organising images within religious paradigms make claims about the world and are not simply subjective.<sup>74</sup> Barbour sees several similarities between religious models and theoretical models in science that serve to show how this concept can be used to illuminate a theological critique of nations as imagined communities:

First... they are analogical in origin, extensible to new situations, and comprehensible as units. Second, they have a similar status. Neither is a literal picture of reality, yet neither should be treated as a useful fiction. Models are partial and inadequate ways of imagining what is not observable. They are symbolic representations, for particular purposes, of aspects of reality which are not directly accessible to us. They are taken seriously but not literally. Third, the use of scientific models to order observations has some parallels in the use of religious models to order the experience of individuals and communities. Organising images help us to structure and interpret patterns of events in personal life and the world.<sup>75</sup>

It will be argued that the Christian paradigm has provided, through its several models of Christian nationhood, key organising images of Scottish nationhood. These models, with their organising images, have served to order the experience of Scots as an imagined community, structuring the pattern and meaning of events in the nation's historical experience. Such models are, indeed, partial and inadequate ways of imagining Scotland, in the sense that they are conceptual re-

constructions of aspects of Scottish history and past cultural and religious experience. They serve as symbolic representations, for particular purposes of analysis, of aspects of the complex history and present experience of Scottish nationhood. Models are analogical but they do make claims about the world. It will be argued that their organising images have restructured the ways in which the Scots have experienced and interpreted the imagined community of Scottish nationhood.

Such models have operated within an overall paradigm, or tradition transmitted by historical exemplars. It will be argued that this has been a tradition of the Christian identity of Scotland as a Christian nation. The central role played by Christianity and the church in the development of a sense of Scottish nationhood has already been noted. Chapters 2,3 and 4 will examine the ways in which that tradition of Christian nationhood continued and yet changed through more than seven centuries of Scottish history into the present. Over that period, three main models of Christian nationhood will be discerned, the medieval Catholic model of a free nation, the Reformed model of a godly nation and the secularized Calvinist model of a moral nation. Each model, it will be argued, provides key 'organising images' or 'images of communion' for Scottish nationhood. In this way theological models of the nation will be related to a social scientific



definition of the nation as an 'imagined community', within an overall historical and sociological context.

Despite their diversity, all three models will be seen to operate within the same overall paradigm of the Christian nation. The fundamental assumption of this paradigm is the identity, in varying degree, of the nation of Scotland with the biblical people of God, both the Old Testament Israel and the New Testament Church. At times in its history this tradition has seen an almost exact identity between the holy nation of God's people and the historical nation of the Scots. At other times the relationship of the two has been more self-consciously a matter of inspiration and aspiration, seeing the whole nation as a Christian community.

The paradigm of the Christian nation has been transmitted through key historical exemplars, both biblical and Scottish. One of the most influential and illuminating exemplars of the Christian nation in Scottish history is the National Covenant made by the Scots in 1638, arising out of their conflict with the royal absolutism of Charles I in church and state. Gordon Donaldson's interpretation of the significance of this Covenant in the wider context of Scottish nationhood will be quoted in full as a summary account of what is meant here by the paradigm of Christian nationhood:

To some of the signatories the Covenant was far

more than a judicious piece of constitutionalism, for it focussed concepts and ideals which had their roots deep in the national consciousness. As a bond, it was in the tradition of the innumerable bonds for political, religious - and criminal - purposes in past generations. As a confession of faith, binding a people to a repudiation of popery, it was a further renewal of the Negative Confession originally adopted in 1581 and produced in more than one occasion since; and as a "covenant" it had its context in the "federal theology" which had been fashionable for a generation. But it appealed to convictions more profound. The notion that the Scots were a chosen race, in some ways comparable to the people of Israel, already had a long history: it is to be found, for example in the Declaration of Arbroath, in 1320, where the Scots claimed that Christ had selected as their missionary St Andrew, the first apostle whom He had called, and where the Scottish leader, Robert I, was likened to Joshua and Judas Maccabeus, those leaders of the Chosen People. Belief in the exceptional purity of the Scottish reformed church strengthened this particular from of national conceit. Knox claimed that all other churches retained "some footsteps of Antichrist and some dregs of papistry," whereas "we (all praise to God alone) have nothing within our churches that ever flowed from that Man of Sin"; and James VI, so it seems, pandered to a presbyterian audience by making a similar claim. But it was left to the era of the Covenant to provide national conceit with a theological foundation. Samuel Rutherford had written in 1633: "Scotland whom our Lord took off the dunghill and out of hell and made a fair bride to Himself.... He will embrace both us, the little younger sister, and the elder sister, the Church of the Jews." Johnston of Wariston, though responsible for the legalism and antiquarianism of the Covenant, yet considered the day of its signature to be "that glorious marriage day of the kingdom with God," he saw the parallel between Scotland and Israel, "the only two sworn nations to the Lord," and he could even write of "Scotland's God." The claim was carried no higher when a covenanter later in the century remarked that "Scotland is the betrothed Virgin: We were espoused to Jesus Christ, and joined to Him, by a marriage covenant, never to be forgotten." Essentially the covenanting movement was, and as its history unfolded it long continued to be, an aristocratic and conservative reaction. But the concept of the Covenant as a perpetual undertaking by the people of Scotland and as a contract

between them and God, was one which was to harness the vitality of a nation.<sup>76</sup>

This thesis will argue that there has been a continuous yet changing tradition of imagining Scotland as a Christian nation in the sense outlined above. The Christian nation paradigm imagines the identity of the historical nation of Scotland by drawing on images of the biblical holy nation of God's people. The paradigm does so explicitly in the idea of a chosen nation, as in the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath or 1638 National Covenant, or sometimes more implicitly, as in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in the weaker notion of a Christian society. This paradigmatic tradition of Christian nationhood is transmitted by both biblical and Scottish exemplars; key figures, people, events, institutions, texts and ideas that embody the identification between God and the Scottish nation.

Such exemplars will be considered in later chapters as 'ideal types' of the different models of the Christian nation found within this paradigm. It was the pioneering sociologist Max Weber who used this analytical concept to select out of complex reality certain key characteristics of historical and social particulars, to designate abstract elements within historical reality, or to reconstruct rationalized forms of more ambiguous human behaviour, in order to make them more intelligible. As

Raymond Aron noted of Weber's sociological use of 'ideal types', 'The ideal type of a historical particular remains a partial reconstruction since the sociologist selects a certain number of traits from the historical whole to constitute an intelligible entity. This reconstruction is only one among many possible reconstructions, and the whole reality does not enter into the sociologist's mental image.'<sup>77</sup>

In developing the different models of Scottish nationhood in chapters 2,3 and 4, use will be made of particular historical individuals, events, texts or institutions as 'ideal types', selected to reconstruct certain key traits out of a more complex historical and social reality. What is not being attempted in these chapters is a complete account of that historical reality; nor is it being argued that by selecting these individuals, institutions, events or texts as evidence of sociological ideal types they should be seen now, or were seen by contemporaries, as the cause of movements of thought or social change within history. Nor is it being suggested that all Scots have consciously embraced the idea of a Christian nation. As Aron has commented, in the use of such sociological concepts as ideal types: 'Whether one is discussing bureaucracy or capitalism, a political regime or a particular nation, a concept will be defined neither by those characteristics common to all individuals nor by the average characteristics. It will

be a stylized reconstruction, a selection of "typical" traits.'<sup>78</sup> It is in this sense that historical examples will be used in this practical theology thesis, with its inter-disciplinary approach, as ideal types of the several models of the Christian nation, and as historical exemplars of the paradigmatic tradition.

A final comment should be made on the argument for a paradigm shift in the theological tradition of Christian nationhood that is central to the thesis. Barbour has qualified Kuhn's view that the shift from one paradigm to another is a matter of conversion and persuasion rather than logical argument, by suggesting that there are common criteria which are not paradigm-dependent and allow for rational debate.<sup>79</sup> Yet ultimately he agrees that, 'Religious paradigms, like scientific ones, are not falsified by data, but are replaced by promising alternatives ... in both science and religion there are experiential data and criteria of judgement which are not totally paradigm-dependent, though I have granted that the absence of rules for choice among paradigms is far more problematic in religion than in science.'<sup>80</sup>

By studying in some detail the Christian nation paradigm, and its three main historical models, it will be argued that this paradigm can no longer make sense of the sociological data about the nature of contemporary

Scottish nationhood, nor does it allow for a theological approach that is faithful to the criteria of judgement found within the biblical gospel of the Kingdom of God and the insights of modern ecumenical social and political theology. But alongside this external set of data and criteria, it will be argued that there are within the Christian nation paradigmatic tradition itself the elements of a new paradigm to replace the old, images not of Christian identity but of liberation in Christ. This reinforces the point made above in relation to ideal types, that the use of the concept of a paradigmatic tradition does not mean that there were not also other dissenting or conflicting Christian models of Scotland.

#### 4. The Scottish Context and a Scottish Contextual Theology

It is precisely the inherited images of national identity which are under scrutiny in contemporary Scotland. The meaning of Scottish nationhood in cultural and political terms has been the subject of recurring debate in twentieth century Scotland. It is this debate about the nature of Scotland as an 'imagined political community' that is the context for a re-assessment of the Christian nation paradigm of Scottish identity.

Before the outbreak of the First World War, the Liberal 'Home Rule' movement succeeded in getting a parliamentary second reading of a Scottish Home Rule bill in 1913.<sup>81</sup> A Scottish parliament was seen as a vital

national institution for the flourishing of Scottish life within the United Kingdom and British Empire. In the period between the two World Wars, 1918-39, there was a literary renaissance associated with the life and work of the poet Hugh MacDiarmid that championed the questioning and renewal of Scotland's cultural and national traditions.<sup>82</sup> The Scottish National Party was founded in 1934 out of earlier nationalist and Home Rule bodies, to campaign for Scottish dominion status as an independent country within the British Empire.<sup>83</sup>

The post-1945 movement for Scottish self-government was expressed first in a Covenant movement in the late 1940s and early 1950s that raised 2 million signatures in support of a Scottish Parliament within the framework of the United Kingdom. This failed to bring about constitutional change, despite the wave of popular support and publicity that surrounded the taking of the Stone of Destiny, the symbol of Scottish nationhood, from Westminster Abbey in 1950, and a token government report on the administration of Scottish affairs. The home rule campaign had to wait until a by-election victory by the pro-independence Scottish National Party (SNP) in 1967, prompted British government recognition of Scottish concern over its constitutional position and welfare as a nation within the United Kingdom. A Royal Commission on the Constitution was set up in 1969 and reported in favour of a measure of devolution in 1973.<sup>84</sup> The Labour

government elected in October 1974 faced the challenge of eleven elected SNP members of parliament and passed a Scotland act, introducing an elected legislative assembly for Scotland without tax-raising powers. This act was brought before the Scottish electorate for approval in a referendum in 1979. Although 52 per cent of those voting supported the act, the British parliament had attached a unique condition to the referendum, requiring forty per cent support of all those on the electoral register before the act would be implemented.<sup>85</sup> The Scotland act fell, along with the Labour government, in May 1979.

Scotland entered the 1980s with a radical Conservative government opposed to any measure of legislative self-government for Scotland. In such a political context of failed nationalist expectations, it might have been expected that the sense of Scottish nationhood would have weakened after 1979. Instead, Scotland witnessed a paradoxical period of economic decline and cultural renaissance. As Cairns Craig wrote, in his editorial preface to the 'Determinations' series of books on Scottish culture and politics, it was assumed 'that the energetic culture of the 1960s and 1970s would wither into the silence of a political wasteland in which Scotland would be no more than a barely distinguishable province of the United Kingdom'. Craig notes that this did not happen in Scotland:

Instead, the 1980s proved to be one of the most



productive and creative decades in Scotland this century - as though the energy that had failed to be harnessed by the politicians flowed into other channels. In literature, in thought, in history, creative and scholarly work went hand in hand to redraw the map of Scotland's past and realign the perspectives of its future. In place of the few standard conceptions of Scotland's identity, a new and vigorous debate was opened up about the nature of Scottish experience, about the real social and economic structures of the nation, and about the ways in which the Scottish situation related to that of other similar cultures throughout the world.<sup>86</sup>

By the early 1990s, that new and vigorous cultural and intellectual debate was paralleled by a resurgent political debate about Scotland's constitutional future within the United Kingdom and European Community. The establishment of a cross-party Scottish Constitutional Convention in 1989, set up to reach a consensus scheme for a Scottish parliament in response to the publication of a Claim of Right for Scotland in 1988, was part of a growing movement of public support for some measure of self-government; spurred on once again by a SNP by-election victory in 1988.<sup>87</sup> The Conservative general election victory in 1992 ended the immediate prospect of British government action to establish a Scottish parliament. However, the fact that almost three quarters of the Scottish electorate supported parties advocating some measure of constitutional change, returning 61 out of 72 members of parliament, and that the Conservative Prime Minister John Major appointed a Scottish Office minister for constitutional affairs to help him 'take



stock' of Scotland's position within the Union, would suggest that political nationalism and the wider question of Scotland's national identity will remain significant factors in any assessment of Scottish society during the rest of the decade and into the next century.<sup>88</sup>

The debate about the nature of Scotland as an imagined political community has recurred, therefore, with growing vigour throughout the twentieth century, not least in the 1980s. As Craig has argued, it is in such a cultural and political context that creative, philosophical, theological, critical and political ideas must confront each other to redraw the map of Scotland's past and realign the perspectives of its future. This raises the question, significantly from a secular context, of the role of theology in such an exercise of redrawing and realigning the nation's past and future with new intellectual maps and perspectives.

It has already been argued above that one way of describing the relationship between Christianity, the national church and the Scottish nation is through the use of paradigms and models. These concepts engage with the definition of nations as imagined political communities by focusing on the function of the Christian tradition in generating the 'organising images' or 'images of communion' which are seen as central to the meaning of Scottish nationhood and nationalism. In

themselves, they are useful analytical concepts in identifying aspects of complex historical and social data but they require to be used within a critical theological approach to Scottish nationhood. Such an approach must offer a set of criteria for evaluating them in terms of Christian practice and contextual relevance.

One of the most significant developments in modern theology has been the recognition of the importance of the social, cultural and historical context in theological method, content and practice:

There has been an important shift in perspective in theology in recent years. While the basic purpose of theological reflection has remained the same - namely, the reflection of Christians upon the gospel in the light of their own circumstances - much more attention is now being paid to how these circumstances shape the response to the gospel. This focus is being expressed with terms like "localization," "contextualization," "indigenization," and "inculturation" of theology. Despite slightly different nuances in meaning, all of these terms point to the need for and responsibility of Christians to make their response to the gospel as concrete and lively as possible.<sup>89</sup>

This has given rise to a range of contextual theologies around the world, associated primarily with the liberation theologies of Latin America, but including black, feminist and Asian theologies.<sup>90</sup> Such theologies seek to make the concrete social and political experience of particular groups, above all the poor and the oppressed, and the struggle for liberation from such poverty and oppression, the hermeneutical context for understanding authentic Christian faith and practice.

Such a 'hermeneutical circle', of critical reflection on the praxis of human liberation, finds in the Exodus liberation story in the Old Testament, and in the liberating ministry of Jesus to the outcasts and oppressed of Palestine, the Biblical resources to understand such praxis: 'Theology in this context will be a critical reflection both from within, and upon, historical praxis, in confrontation with the word of the Lord as lived and experienced in faith.'<sup>91</sup> For liberation theologians, theology itself is always seen as a 'second act' after the first act of praxis and event. And so Leonardo Boff can write, 'The theology of liberation therefore means critical reflection on human praxis (of human beings generally and Christians in particular) in the light of the praxis of Jesus and the demands of the faith.'<sup>92</sup> In considering human praxis, liberation theology embraces 'a prior political and ethical option, in the light of the gospel, for the poor', a commitment to the liberating praxis of the poor.<sup>93</sup>

'Praxis' is a key term for liberation theology. Drawing on its use by Hegel and Marx, praxis is seen as 'the ensemble of social relationships that include and determine the structures of social consciousness.'<sup>94</sup> Praxis therefore includes thought and theory as part of the fabric of social relationships, and not as prior to or detached from the social context. Within that set of

social relationships theory 'represents a dialectical moment within practice, as does action.'<sup>95</sup> The task of theory is to analyse the nature of the social relationships and to indicate where they may be oppressive to particular social classes or groups. This leads on to action designed to change or end such oppressive relationships, a liberating or transformative praxis. Such an understanding of praxis has given rise to a new emphasis on Christian praxis as a major form of theological reflection:

In many parts of the world, especially in oppressive societies, a Christian praxis of faith has emerged. Like all praxis, it has a theoretical and a practical moment, both of which are considered essential to the theological process. In the theoretical moment an analysis of the social structure is undertaken, revealing the relationships of power, oppression and freedom. The theoretical moment includes reflection on how God is active in human history, bringing judgement and a transformative moment to history. Such analysis and correlation with the perceived activity of God leads to transformative action on the part of the community of believers. In turn that action is reflected upon to reveal God's activity, leading to yet further action. The dialectical process of reflection and action are both essential to the theological process. Theology cannot remain only with reflection; nor can it be reduced to practice. Good reflection leads to action, and action is not completed until it has been reflected upon.<sup>96</sup>

The distinctive feature of the theological method of liberation theology is its use of the social sciences in socio-economic and political analysis to understand social reality from the viewpoint of the poor and to raise questions requiring a response by the Christian

revelation. In that sense, it is the concrete and historical social context of human and Christian praxis that is seen to interrogate and illuminate the Scriptures rather than simply function as the incidental arena in which a universal and timeless theology is applied through deduction into Christian practice. While marxism has been employed in a selective way for such social analysis, it is not regarded as essential to the hermeneutical circle, which remains Christian reflection on liberating human praxis.

This thesis will take up a contextual theological approach to questions of contemporary Scottish nationhood, employing a distinction made by the American theologian Robert Schreiter in his book, Constructing Local Theologies, between contextual theologies of identity and of liberation.<sup>97</sup> Schreiter is concerned to explore the nature of 'local theology', his term for the different forms of contextual theology. Local theology is defined as 'the dynamic interaction among gospel, church and culture.'<sup>98</sup>

He first evaluates the different missiological approaches to culture represented by what he terms the translation and adaptation models. Arising out of this missiological concern to take the gospel to other, non-Western cultures, relatively simple operations of adaptation or translation into culturally equivalent indigenous forms

and concepts were typical of the earliest attempts to take account of the local context in the work of mission. But the limitations of such approaches were evident in their underlying and often unquestioned assumption that the sender culture of the missionaries and Western church did not itself distort the perception and transmission of the gospel.<sup>99</sup> More radical contextual methods were called for, giving fuller weight to the local culture not only as the context for receiving but also as the starting point for understanding and practising the gospel. This led on to the development of more explicitly contextual theologies. While adaptation models of gospel, culture and church emphasise the received faith to be adapted to the forms of the local culture, more thoroughgoing contextual models take the cultural context as the starting point for theological reflection.

Schreiter distinguishes between two kinds of contextual models, those of identity and of liberation: 'They differ principally in how they read the dynamics and dominant needs of their social contexts.'<sup>100</sup> As their name suggests, theologies of identity have been concerned to start with an affirmation of the existing identity and traditions of a culture while theologies of liberation have sought first to identify the lines of conflict and social oppression in a particular society. Both recognise the impact of social change on cultures,

urbanization in the Third World, for example, undermining traditional cultural identity and leading to new forms of oppression, hunger and poverty. But each contextual model emphasises one or other of these social factors, either cultural identity or social change.

In the first instance, contextual theologies of identity, termed 'ethnographic approaches' by Schreiter, have seen the gospel as strengthening the identity of a particular people. Often arising in the context of de-colonialisation or racial discrimination, such theologies have sought to reassert the dignity and identity denied to black people, as in the west African 'Negritude' and South African or American 'Black Power' movements.<sup>101</sup> But Schreiter points out that identity issues arise on other than racial lines:

... women around the world are struggling to understand themselves in their own right, and not be satisfied with the identity given them by men. In countries until recently controlled by North Atlantic nations, the need to forge nationhood out of diverse peoples, to create supratribal identities and loyalties has also been a task for this kind of theology.... Local theologies of the ethnographic variety of contextual approach strive to answer questions of identity especially. Their particular strength lies in beginning with the questions that the people themselves have - not those posed immediately by other Christian churches or those necessary for a systematic understanding of the faith ... this theological reflection leading to a theology enhancing the identity of a local people.<sup>102</sup>

But Schreiter also sees a number of weaknesses in the approach of contextual theologies of identity. These



include a tendency to overlook the conflictual elements in a culture out of an overriding concern to maintain cultural stability and identity; and an inability to see the sin in the historical experience of a particular culture because of a cultural romanticism or isolation that precludes a critical dialogue with gospel values from the perspective and experience of other cultures.

It is just such elements of social conflict and sin within a particular culture that contextual theologies of liberation seek to address. They understand the gospel in terms of deliverance from oppression in a given community or context of human suffering and exploitation:

Liberation approaches ... concentrate especially upon the dynamics of social change in human societies. In view of the fact that so many cultures are being subjected to social change, or are being denied necessary change through patterns of political, economic, and social oppression, it is not surprising that liberation approaches are probably the most common form of contextual model in the world today. They are associated especially with Latin America, but they can be found wherever Christians are experiencing political, economic, and social oppression. The focus or emphasis may be different from region to region, but certain of the dynamics are parallel. If ethnographic models look to issues of identity and continuity, liberation models concentrate on social change and discontinuity. Put theologically, liberation models are concerned with salvation. Liberation models analyse the lived experience of a people to uncover the forces of oppression, struggle, violence, and power. They concentrate on the conflictual elements oppressing a community or tearing it apart. In the midst of grinding poverty, political violence, deprivation of rights, discrimination and hunger, Christians move from social analysis to finding echoes in the biblical witness in order to understand the struggle in which they are engaged or to find direction for the future. Liberation

models concentrate on the need for change.<sup>103</sup>

Again, Schreiter notes the shortcomings of the liberation approach, including the dangers of an unreflective activism, the problematic use of marxism, the neglect of the biblical witness in emphasising the cries of the people, and an extremist tendency that fails to value provisional and intermediate solutions and expressions of grace in situations of oppression. But all this must be set against its constructive contribution: 'The special strength of liberation models has been what can happen when the realities of a people are genuinely and intimately coupled with the saving word of God. The energies that are released, the bonds of community and hope that are forged, the insight into the divine revelation received and shared have already enriched the larger Christian community immensely and have challenged the older churches to a more faithful witness.'<sup>104</sup> It is just such a challenge to the older church in Scotland that must now be considered.

Drawing on Schreiter's distinction between contextual theologies of identity and liberation, it will be argued in this thesis that Scotland has known a rich and diverse tradition of contextual theology, in the dynamic interaction of gospel, church and culture throughout its history as a 'Christian nation', set out above in section one. While the importance of context as

a primary part of theological method has been a relatively recent emphasis in modern theology, it will be argued that the Scottish cultural and national context has shaped and been shaped by the different historical Christian approaches to Scottish nationhood. The Scottish Christian tradition has generated several contextual theologies of identity, in which the theological undergirding of the Christian identity of the nation and the national identity of the Christian Scots has been the main focus. Such contextual theologies have been concerned to construct or reconstruct Scotland's national and Christian identities, within the overall worldview of Christendom and the particular perspectives of medieval Catholicism, Reformed Protestantism or a more secularized moral Calvinism.

In Barbour's terms, this theological and religious tradition affirming the identity of Scotland as a Christian nation can be described as a paradigm upheld by key historical exemplars, offering several diverse models of such Christian nationhood. But Schreiter's distinction allows for more than a way of describing and analysing the existing and historical Christian approach to Scottish nationhood, as a contextual theology of identity operating with a paradigm of Scotland as a Christian nation. It also allows for a practical theological critique of that paradigm and type of contextual theology, by suggesting a different contextual

approach and a paradigm shift to a new Christian paradigm of Scottish nationhood.

Such a critique will come about through moving from a contextual theology and paradigm of identity to a contextual theology and paradigm of liberation. Such a liberation approach will be concerned to address issues of human and Christian praxis in the context of the nature of social change and conflict in contemporary Scottish society and in the light of the gospel. It will not focus on defending a historical Christian identity for the Scottish nation, which is the main concern of the identity paradigm of Christian nationhood.

The weaknesses in contextual theologies of identity noted by Schreiter apply to the Scottish identity approach of the Christian nation paradigm. It will be argued that this approach has given insufficient attention to the areas of social conflict and oppression in Scotland, often been blind to its own sin and limited perspective, and drawn back from a critical dialogue with gospel values. The Christian nation paradigm operating within the Catholic, Reformed and secular Calvinist contextual theologies of identity is no longer adequate to make sense of Scottish experience as a nation, nor can it generate the dynamic and constructive new models of gospel, church and nation that Christian praxis in Scotland now requires. It will be argued that a

liberation contextual theology and a liberating Christian paradigm of Scottish nationhood will more fruitfully generate such models and undergird a praxis more faithful to gospel values.

At this point, some final comments must be made on adopting this theological approach in a Scottish context. First, it must be stated that the present writer is engaged in self-criticism and revision of his own earlier published work in this thesis. The book Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision argued for a new Christian identity for Scotland after a critical evaluation of the main historical Christian visions of Scottish national identity.<sup>105</sup> While some of that published material has been included in a revised form in this thesis, with permission and as the publication of ongoing research work for this thesis, the argument here for a paradigm shift from models of identity to a new paradigm of liberation represents a critique and move away from that earlier stage in the writer's own thinking and understanding. It should also be stated that the writer has been a participant observer in the Church of Scotland's own recent work on the constitutional question in Scotland, in drafting the 1989 Church and Nation committee report on the government of Scotland.<sup>106</sup>

Secondly, the longevity of the relationship between gospel, church and nation in Scotland leads to particular

contextual theological dangers and problems. There is inherent in the Christian nation paradigm the assumption that the gospel and the church have been successfully and permanently set within the context of Scottish culture and society. The theological and practical task is seen as the maintaining and defence of that form of contextualization. Schreiter points out the dangers of that assumption:

Nor can one be satisfied with having listened once to a culture and then presuming that the contextualization of the church has been achieved. This would presume that the culture is an unchanging and static reality. In some parts of the world that have been part of Christian history for centuries, Christianity has come close to dying out because its theological expressions and symbolic performances have not continued to listen to cultural change. The situation of Christianity in France, once heralded as the "eldest daughter of the church", is a case in point.<sup>107</sup>

When it is remembered that the Scottish church bore the title of the special daughter of the papacy, then the parallel warning to Scotland is evident. We shall argue that the Reformed Christian tradition of the national Church of Scotland has not listened sufficiently to cultural change affecting Scottish nationhood in the modern period. A major reason for this is the assumption in the Christian nation paradigm that the national church, having historically identified with the culture in earlier eras in national life, does not require any fundamental re-assessment of its 'theological expressions and symbolic performances' in response to any new

cultural listening exercise. Rather, the national church has become the embodiment of a particular culture and past identity that no longer reflects the social reality of a changing Scotland, and indeed may blind it to perceiving or responding to that change. It is this problem of the dangers of historical and social familiarity between church and nation in Scotland that the alternative contextual approach of liberation must address more seriously and fundamentally.

Thirdly, we shall consider this liberation approach from within the Scottish Reformed theological tradition and in the context of the issues of contemporary Scottish nationhood. Both present particular problems for a theology of liberation. These can be stated in two questions. Are there any valid theological links between Reformed and liberation theologies? And, do the profound differences of social context between Latin America, the Third World and Scotland invalidate the attempt to develop a Scottish contextual theology of liberation, given that Scotland is not facing the problems of poverty and powerlessness on the scale of two thirds of the world's population but the problems of a Western nation?

Addressing the first question, it is significant that where the Reformed theological tradition has encountered the context of a liberation struggle at first hand, in South Africa, there has been a fruitful

dialogue with liberation theology. John de Gruchy, for example has suggested 'that Reformed theology is best understood as a liberating theology that is catholic in its substance, evangelical in principle, and socially engaged and prophetic in its witness.'<sup>108</sup> Where the Reformed tradition has failed to embody such a liberating Reformed theology and practice, and has legitimated oppression, as in Afrikaner Calvinism and nationalism, then it must itself be liberated in order to fulfill its 'liberating potential and role'. De Gruchy believes that, 'One way of doing that is for Reformed theology to enter into dialogue with the various forms of liberation theology at work in the contemporary church.'<sup>109</sup>

He sought to further that dialogue in his Warfield Lectures at Princeton in 1990, which he edited and expanded in his book, Liberating Reformed Theology.<sup>110</sup> De Gruchy there examines several key themes in Calvin's theology, and in the Reformed tradition flowing from Calvin, and considers where they correspond with and can learn from liberation theology. De Gruchy finds liberating themes in the Reformed emphasis on Jesus Christ as the liberating Word and hermeneutical 'canon within the canon'<sup>111</sup>, on the glory of God and opposition to idolatry<sup>112</sup>, on humanity in the divine image<sup>113</sup>, on evangelical freedom for loving service<sup>114</sup>, on the need for the church always to be reforming<sup>115</sup>, and on the theological framework for politics<sup>116</sup>. At the centre of



the dialogue between Reformed and liberation theologies is the common bond of what de Gruchy quotes the Scots Confession as calling 'the rule of love'<sup>117</sup>:

Liberating grace, the evangelical core of Reformed theology, remains at the centre of the ferment created by the gospel; it remains the motivating power for prophetic witness and struggle. It does so because it provides the way beyond ideological absolutism, and therefore idolatry, to a truly humanized society. That is, it shows that the true motivation for the struggle for justice and its implementation in the structures of society is love. Once again Miguez Bonino helps us to see the connection. "Love is thus the inner meaning of politics, just as politics is the outward form of love. When this relation is made operative in the struggle for liberation, there is both the flexibility necessary for humanizing the struggle and the freedom necessary for humanizing the result of the struggle." We have returned, then, to Calvin's insistence that the laws of every nation, and therefore the exercise of justice, must conform to the "perpetual rule of love," a rule central to the hermeneutics and praxis of Reformed, Catholic and liberation theology.<sup>118</sup>

We shall be considering some of these liberating themes in the Scottish Reformed tradition which grew from Calvin and gave birth to that Scots Confession, in developing a new liberating Christian paradigm of Scottish nationhood. In as much as that same Reformed tradition accepted and developed the Christian nation paradigm of Scottish identity, it is clear that the thesis will require to make distinctions among different strands in Scottish Calvinism, among different strands in the whole Scottish Christian tradition and experience.

To aid such an anatomy of the different models of

the Christian nation, identifying the liberating elements even within contextual theologies of national identity, we shall use a distinction between dominant, residual and emergent ideas employed by David Nicholls in his study of the relationship between images of God and the state, Deity and Domination.<sup>119</sup> Stressing 'the importance of a historical perspective in understanding the relationship between political and religious concepts and images', he goes on to write:

In this connection it is worth introducing a distinction, made by Raymond Williams, which will prove useful in subsequent discussions. That is between dominant, residual and emergent ideas. Residual ideas, almost by definition, are survivals from a previous age and may bear little relation to the prevailing social structure, notwithstanding their powerful influence upon current behaviour and interpretations of reality. It might indeed prove to be the case that many of the dominant images and concepts of God in a given situation are related to the social conditions prevailing at the time. It should also be emphasised, however, that even some fairly dominant images may be more closely related to past social conditions than to present ones. Residents of long-standing republics still think and speak of God as 'king' and socialist Christians talk endlessly about the 'kingdom' of God. Emergent ideas again should be seen less as reflections of the predominant social arrangements of the day than as the imaginative response of individuals or small groups to these arrangements. Needless to say, most residual ideas are the dominant ideas of an earlier epoch and all dominant ideas are the emergent ideas of yesterday.<sup>120</sup>

Williams' helpful distinction between dominant, residual and emergent ideas will be used in two ways in this thesis. It will be argued that the Christian nation paradigm of Scottish identity continues to operate in

modern Scottish society in the form of residual ideas - residual images of national identity and religious concepts - that were once dominant and related to the prevailing social structures and dynamic theological models of earlier historical periods. While such ideas bear little relation to contemporary social reality, they continue to exert 'their powerful influence on current behaviour and interpretations of reality' in the national church. It is in this sense that the residual ideas of the Christian nation paradigm inhibit contemporary Christian practice in a Scottish context.

This distinction will also be employed to trace the emergent ideas of liberation to be found within the several models of the Christian nation paradigm, challenging the dominant ideas of the national church and prevailing Christian approach to Scottish identity. In that sense, the emergent ideas identified in chapters 2-4 will be the motor for the paradigm shift to the new, emergent paradigm to be outlined in the final chapter 5.

This second use of dominant, residual and emergent ideas also serves as a further methodological reminder that the conceptual use of paradigms and models in a Scottish historical and contemporary context describes only what are held to be key and significant aspects of complex historical and social reality. It is not being argued that in any one period the dominant ideas

associated with the Christian nation paradigm were the only ones held in Scotland or that they were held exactly in the 'ideal' form that they are being presented for analytical purposes. The deviant emergent ideas of liberation indicate the diversity of historical data that must always qualify and limit the use of a method of analysis and argument seeking conceptual clarity.

The second question to be raised about the proposed development of a Scottish contextual theology of liberation concerns its relevance and appropriateness to that Scottish context. What is not being proposed is a simplistic lifting of liberation theologies from their Third World context in order to apply them directly to the situation of a Western country like Scotland. Indeed, the very argument of liberation theology about its own methods precludes such an attempt. Liberation theologians have stressed that they are engaged not in a new theology but in a new way of doing theology.<sup>121</sup> Liberation theology grew out of the moral outrage at the poverty and powerlessness of the great mass of the people in Latin America and the Third World.<sup>122</sup> It sees theology rigorously as a second act, as reflection following on a first act: 'the first act presupposed is an experience of faith contextualized by commitment for the other (contextualized theology); is militant in the struggle for liberation (militant theology); is a praxis (a more adequate term than practice, experience, action,

life, all of which could have an exclusively spiritual and personal connotation), indeed is a 'totality of practices', aimed at changing reality, at transforming relationships of dependence and domination.'<sup>123</sup> Any liberating theology in a Scottish context must start, therefore, from a first act in its own ethical indignation and experience of faith, and engage in theological reflection on Scottish Christian praxis as a second act, one that uses a relevant social analysis as a central aspect of its theological method. From a liberation theology perspective, therefore, it is, legitimately, a way of doing theology from its own Scottish context and praxis.

The concern of such Christian praxis to transform 'relationships of dependence and domination' means that a liberating contextual theology will always consider the particular forms of dependence and domination in any particular social context and the most appropriate forms of social analysis for illuminating the particular social reality in question. In Latin America that has meant liberation from forms of global economic and political dependence and domination. However, liberation theologies around the world have also responded to other forms of domination and dependence:

The Latin American liberation theologies have become the best known, although liberation theology is not all of the same type. The nature of social oppression will reshape the focus from place to place. In some instances an analysis

along the lines of class is the most enlightening. This has been the case in much of Latin America. In other areas the issue is race. Reflections of minority populations in Latin America, North America, and parts of Asia fall into this category. In South Africa liberation theology gives voice to an oppressed majority. In yet other instances, other categories are more to the point. Praxis arising from reflection along lines of sex is found among women on several continents. Or again, the factor can be religion, language or caste. It can also serve the purposes of seeking political independence.<sup>124</sup>

It is that last issue of political independence which relates to the Scottish context and the debate about the social and political dimension of Scottish nationhood in the twentieth century. A liberating Scottish contextual theology must reflect on the experience of domination and dependence in Scottish nationhood and on the ecclesial, communal and constitutional praxis that may transform such social and political relationships in the nation. There are now parallel endeavours in other parts of the world which are seeking to develop a local contextual theology of liberation in relation to such questions of nationhood, constitution-making and nation-building.

Naim Stifan Ateek, for example, has developed a Palestinian theology of liberation in his book, Justice, and only Justice.<sup>125</sup> There he argues for the relevance of a liberation approach to the Palestinian and Middle East situation: 'A theology of liberation is a way of speaking prophetically and contextually to a particular

situation, especially where oppression, suffering, and injustice have long reigned. God has something very relevant and very important to say to both the oppressed and the oppressors in the Middle East.<sup>126</sup> This leads Naim Ateek to consider questions of nationhood, nationalism and constitutional change for both Palestinians and Israelis, in the light of a liberating understanding of Christ and the Bible, and amid the tensions of being a Christian and a Palestinian in Israel.<sup>127</sup> In that context, Palestinian Christians must insist that justice be done, and the Palestinians given their national rights, without giving in to hate.<sup>128</sup>

Another example of a liberation approach to questions of nationhood and constitutional change can be found in Charles Villa-Vicencio's work on A Theology of Reconstruction for South Africa.<sup>129</sup> In the book of that title he considers the theological response to problems of nation-building and human rights in a South African context. Contextual theologies have helped people to resist apartheid in South Africa but, with the political developments leading to the real prospect of a post-apartheid situation in the 1990s, a new kind of nation-building liberation theology is now required, Villa-Vicencio argues. Where 'a few in the church helped lead the charge in saying "No" to the atrocities of the apartheid regime',

The challenge now facing the church is different.



The complex options for a new South Africa require more than resistance. The church is obliged to begin the difficult task of saying 'Yes' to the unfolding process of what could culminate in a democratic, just and kinder social order.... It involves the important task of breaking-down prejudices of race, class and sexism, and the difficult task of creating an inclusive (non-racial and democratic) society built on the very values denied the majority of people under apartheid. As this challenge is met, it could mean the birth of a different kind of liberatory theology.<sup>130</sup>

Villa-Vicencio sees this new kind of liberatory nation-building theology as being contextual, interdisciplinary and acutely aware of the dangers in linking theology to the concerns of a particular nation.<sup>131</sup> Just as Latin American liberation theology has taken the biblical Exodus story as the key hermeneutic text for its understanding of God's liberating event, Villa-Vicencio finds a hermeneutical theological theme in the metaphor of the post-exilic church:

The post-exilic metaphor as used here is built on the emphasis of Gerhard von Rad who identifies the poetry of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah as an important turning point in the traditions of the Old Testament. It is this that causes him to make Isaiah 43:18-19 the hinge between the two volumes of his Old Testament Theology:

Do not remember former things.

Behold, I am doing a new thing.

Prior to this time in the history of Israel the prophets and poets looked back to former times and old traditions. Then come the exilic poets, no longer appealing to the continuing power of the old tradition, but enunciating new actions of God that are discontinuous with the old traditions. The promise of the old tends to give way to the new. It is this shifting emphasis that is employed in what follows in the metaphorical use of post-exilic theology as a theology of reconstruction and nation-building.<sup>132</sup>

Villa-Vicencio proceeds to develop such a liberatory



nation-building theology in a South African, 'post-exilic' context, by considering a theological understanding of law, human-rights, economic justice, democracy and constitution-making for his nation.

This South African example not only confirms the potential of the Reformed tradition to contribute to a liberatory theology of nation-building.<sup>133</sup> Villa-Vicencio's use of the post-exilic metaphor to describe the new liberatory theological task in South Africa, may also be employed to describe the liberatory theological task in Scotland, as set out above. In moving from a contextual theology of identity and paradigm of a Christian nation, to a contextual theology and paradigm of liberation, there is a shifting emphasis, a paradigm shift, from the promise of the old to the new, 'no longer appealing to the continuing power of the old tradition, but enunciating new actions of God that are discontinuous with the old traditions.' In that biblical sense, but in a very different Scottish context, we are engaged in a post-exilic theology of nation-building, with its call to turn from looking back to the old temple of the Christian nation; and to understand the present crisis of Christian practice in the strange land of secular Scotland as an interim exile experience; leading to a home-coming to a new, as yet unrealized or unimagined nation, Scotland as a liberating community of the twenty-first century.

One final insight from this South African liberatory theology of nation-building provides the closing rationale for a study of the Christian nation paradigm of Scottish identity, as the necessary preparation for the development of a liberating practical theological paradigm of Scottish nationhood. Paradoxically, while such a post-exilic contextual theology involves a turning from the old to the new, it also requires a remembrance of past experience:

The quest for something qualitatively new, which is the pulse beat of exilic hope and a contextual theology of liberatory nation-building, can only succeed to the extent that history is taken seriously. The biblical story is the story of a people who anticipated the future by remembering the journey they had already travelled. If we ignore history we are not only condemned to become its victims, but also fail realistically to assess the resources available from which to create a new future.<sup>134</sup>

It is to that history and these resources that we now turn, in chapters 2-4, before considering the creation of a new future, in chapter 5. However, in turning to the history of the Christian nation in Scotland, the challenge of liberation theology to hear the forgotten voice of the oppressed in that history will be taken up.<sup>135</sup> As John de Gruchy has noted, just as it is possible to be a Catholic liberation theologian in the situation of extreme poverty and oppression in Latin America, so it is possible to be a Reformed liberation theologian 'not only in countries of obvious oppression but also in situations where the oppression may be more

subtle, even if very real for those who are dehumanized and oppressed.'<sup>136</sup> That is the challenge of a liberating Reformed theology in Scotland, to hear the voice of subtle oppression as clearly as the liberating Word of God, and to recognise those who are dehumanized by their Scottish experience as clearly as the humanizing humanity of the liberating Word, Jesus Christ. This is the 'rule of love' that de Gruchy took from the Scots Confession as the hermeneutical principle for all liberation theologies - not least a Scottish theology of liberation.

#### Notes

1. Cairns Craig, 'Determinations Series' Preface, in Christopher Harvie, Cultural Weapons: Scotland and Survival in a New Europe (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992).
2. Charles Villa-Vicencio, A Theology of Reconstruction: Nation - building and Human Rights (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.12.
3. Michael Lynch, Scotland: A New History, (London: Century, 1991), p.453, n.1, 'In Ireland, where natio, a notion of community wider than the tribe, had emerged at least as early as the 9th century, the development of kingship and the growth of a national self-consciousness fed off each other - as they did in Scotland.'
4. Ibid., p.49.
5. Lynch, pp.26-28. For the history of early Christian missions to Scotland, in the context of the emergence of Scottish nationhood, see also A. A. M. Duncan, Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom, (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, pb. edn. 1978), pp. 37-39, 66-73, 82; Alfred P. Smyth, Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland 80-1000, (London: Arnold, 1984), pp.34-35, 84-115, 175-214; Ian Finlay, Columba, (London: Gollancz, 1979). Note Duncan's comment that both Ninian and Columba went to pre-existing Christian communities, p.66, and that, p.72: 'The apostles Ninian and Columba were important not only for what they achieved but also for what it later became politic to claim that they had achieved. And if we say that Scotland was Christian by c. 750. we should perhaps also

distinguish the meanings of that statement to cleric and layman. To the former it meant observing the feasts and sacraments of the church, including the Latin mass, and maintaining the orders of the church, including the episcopal order... To the layman, however, the new religion meant a more powerful magic than any that had gone before.'

6. Ibid., p.46.

7. Donnchadh O Corrain, 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in T. W. Moody (ed.), Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence (Belfast, The AppleTree Press, 1978), p.5. Lynch cites this essay for the insights it offers into parallel developments in the formation of Scottish nationality: Lynch, p.453, n.1.

8. Lynch, p.38.

9. Ibid., p.36.

10. For a critical examination of the idea of Christendom, see Leonard Verduin, The Anatomy of a Hybrid: A Study in Church-State Relationships (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1976), pp.104-153.

11. Lynch, pp.38, 197.

12. For this argument, see R. Stuart Loudon, The True Face of the Kirk (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp.1-21. It is enshrined in Article III of the Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual, to be found in D. F. M. MacDonald, ed., Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: The Church of Scotland, 6th edn., 1976), p.391, 'This Church is in historical continuity with the Church of Scotland which was reformed in 1560, whose liberties were ratified in 1592, and for whose security provision was made in the Treaty of Union of 1707.'

13. James G. Kellas, The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p.26.

14. Elie Kedourie, Nationalism (London: Hutchinson, 1966, 3rd edn.), p.9.

15. Eugene Kamenka, 'Political Nationalism - The Evolution of the Idea', in Eugene Kamenka (ed.), Nationalism: the Nature and Evolution of an Idea (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), p.4.

16. Quoted in Kedourie, p.12. The wider argument is set out in his chapter 1, 'Politics in a New Style', pp. 9-19.

17. Ibid., pp.14,15.
18. William Ferguson, Scotland's Relations with England: A Survey to 1707 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1977), pp.241-2.
19. Kellas, pp.22-3.
20. Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983). Gellner contends, for example, that, '... nationalism is not the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force, though that is how it does indeed present itself. It is in reality the consequence of a new form of social organisation, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state', p.48.
21. Kellas argues, p.49, that 'Smith moves the study of nationalism back to the pre-modern period, as Hans Kohn did...'. See Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism (New York, Macmillan, 1944, corrected edn. 1945); Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); also developed in his earlier works, including, The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and Theories of Nationalism (London: Duckworth, 1971, 2nd edn. 1983). Smith argues that while clearcut distinctions between ethnicity and nationalism cannot be made, '... there is more continuity between nationalism and its ethnic forbears than many scholars admit. Nationalism, though still an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century ideology and movement, has deeper and firmer roots in the distant past; and nations are not simply the invention of a modern breed of intellectual... their modernity... is anchored in antiquity, a prehistory of ethnic ties and sentiments...', The Ethnic Revival, p. 85.
22. Kellas, p.23.
23. Ibid, p.23.
24. Ibid., p.27.
25. David McCrone, Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992), p.196.
26. For the range of theories and the debate on definitions of nations and nationalism, see Anthony D. Smith, Theories of Nationalism, esp. chs. 7,8,9, and James G. Kellas, The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity, chs. 2,3, 4 and 10, cited above; Louis L. Snyder, The Dynamics of Nationalism: Readings in its Meaning and Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Norstrand, 1964), pp.1-28.

27. Hugh Seton-Watson, Nations and States: an Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism (London: Methuen, 1977), p.5.
28. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983, 2nd edn. 1991), p.6.
29. Ernest Gellner, Thought and Change (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), p.169, quoted in Anderson, p.6.
30. Anderson, p.6.
31. Ibid, p7.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p.10,11.
35. Ibid., p.10.
36. Ibid., p.12.
37. Kellas, p.48.
38. Anderson, p.6. It is after this statement that Anderson himself quotes and makes the connection with Seton-Watson's definition of a nation as a community where a significant number of people 'consider themselves to form a nation'. Anderson comments, in n.9, 'We may translate "consider themselves" as "imagine themselves".'
39. Kellas, p.4.
40. Ibid., pp. 2,3.
41. Ibid., p.3.
42. Ibid.
43. Lynch, p.53.
44. Seton-Watson, p.3.
45. Kellas, p.3,4.
46. See Smith, The Ethnic Revival, p.85: 'The modern generation of scholars in the field generally start from the premiss that nations and nationalism are peculiarly modern phenomena, and that there is nothing "natural" or inborn about national loyalties or characteristics. In making these assertions, they are often reacting against

not only the claims of nationalists themselves, but of earlier generations of observers who took the 'naturalness' of nationalism for granted. Philosophically, the "unnaturalist" theories may be on firm ground but historically their case is less sure...'. Smith then argues that modern nations and nationalism must be seen in the historical context of their arising out of the utilising and transforming of the style and content of much older ethnic bases and ties. While Smith would see nationalism as an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ideology and movement, he stresses that it has deeper and firmer roots in the distant past. The argument of this thesis is that such a process took place at an early date in Scotland, as pre-modern Scottish nationhood and nationalism were formed out of older ethnic ties.

47. Ibid.

48. Ian G. Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms: A Comparative Study in Science and Religion (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

49. Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Second edition, 1970.

50. Thomas F. Torrance, Theology in Reconciliation (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1975), p.272.

51. Ibid.

52. Barbour, pp.8,9.

53. Ibid, p.147.

54. Ibid, p.148.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid, p.149.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., p.151.

62. Ibid., p.147.

63. Ibid., p.10.



64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., p.172.
66. Ibid., p.6.
67. Ibid., p.7.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p.16.
70. Ibid.
71. Anderson, pp.9,10.
72. Ibid., pp.11,12.
73. On the relationship between Christianity and National Socialism, see Klaus Scholder, A Requiem for Hitler: and Other New Perspectives on the German Church Struggle (London: SCM Press, ET 1989), chs.5,6 and 10.; on Christianity and Afrikaner nationalism, see John de Gruchy and Charles Villa-Vicencio, Apartheid is a Heresy (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1983), and Willem de Klerk, The Puritans in Africa: A Story of Afrikanerdom (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975, rpt. 1983); on civil religion in the United States of America, see Richard John Neuhaus, The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1984), and Richard John Neuhaus (ed.), Unsecular America (Grand rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1986).
74. Barbour, p.16.
75. Ibid., p.69.
76. Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: James V-VII (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1978), pp.315-6. See also J. F. Maclear, 'Samuel Rutherford: The Law and the King', in George L. Hunt, John T. McNeill (eds.), Calvinism and the Political Order (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Westminster Press, 1965). Maclear quotes Rutherford, p.83, as preaching in a sermon 'that Scotland's destiny was specifically revealed in Scripture: "Now, O Scotland, God be thanked, thy name is in the Bible. Christ spoke to us long since, ere ever we were born Christ said, 'Father, give me the ends of the earth, put in Scotland and England, with the isles-men in the great charter also.'"
77. Raymond Aron, Main Currents in Sociological Thought 2 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), pp.208-10. For an example of the use made of ideal types in understanding the social context of theology, see Robin Gill, Prophecy and Praxis: The Social function of the Churches (London:



Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), pp. 19, 23, 27-28, 82.

78. Aron, p.208.

79. Barbour, p.10.

80. Ibid, p.172.

81. See H. J. Hanham, Scottish Nationalism (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp.91-118.

82. See Hanham, pp.146-62; P. H. Scott and A. C. Davis, (eds.) The Age of MacDiarmid (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1980), Part III, pp.193-260; Christopher Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1977 (London: Allen and Unwin, 1977), pp.147-159; Alan Bold, Modern Scottish Literature (London: Longman, 1983), pp.26-40; Lynch, p.434, in the Home Rule movement 'there was a never-ending debate about strategy... the intellectuals of the "Scottish Literary Renaissance" (a phrase of MacDiarmid's first used in the Scottish Chapbook of February 1923) were happy to play the role of enfants terribles....'

83. See Hanham, pp.163-80; John MacCormick, The Flag in the Wind: The Story of the National Movement in Scotland (London: Gollancz, 1955), for a participant's account; Jack Brand, The National Movement of Scotland (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp.173-264; Keith Webb, The Growth of Nationalism in Scotland (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp.78-101.

84. Crowther (later Kilbrandon), Royal Commission on The Constitution: Report I (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1973).

85. See John Bochel, David Denver, Allan Macartney (eds.), The Referendum Experience: Scotland 1979 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1981), for the fullest study of the referendum; on the devolution debate and the rise of the SNP in the 1970s, see James Kellas, The Scottish Political System, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.124-62; H. M. Drucker and Gordon Brown, The Politics of Nationalism and Devolution (London: longman, 1980); Michael Fry, Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), pp.217-50.

86. Craig, (Gen. Series ed.), 'Determinations Series' (Edinburgh: Polygon), Preface, see above.

87. While this period of recent history waits more detailed academic study, see Owen Dudley Edwards, (ed.), A Claim of Right for Scotland (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989);

and Lynch, p.449.

88. See the forthcoming new journal, Lindsay Paterson, (ed.), Scottish Affairs, No. 1, October, 1992, for studies of the 1992 general election results in Scotland.

89. Robert J. Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies (London: SCM Press, 1985), p.1.

90. On the question of contextuality in political theology, see Duncan B. Forrester, Theology and Politics (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 66-7, 150-7; for a critical case against contextual theology, see H.M. Kuitert, Everything is Politics but Politics is not Everything (London: SCM Press, ET 1986), pp. 62-76; for a review of Liberation, Black, Asian and Feminist contextual theologies, see David Ford (ed.), The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century II (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp.171-252; for a review of the history and main themes in Liberation theology, see Rosino Gibellini, The Liberation Theology Debate (London: SCM Press, ET 1987); a critique of the context, method, theology and praxis of Liberation theology, in a comparative study with the Christian realism tradition of Reinhold Niebuhr, is offered by Dennis McCann, Christian Realism and Liberation Theology (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1981), esp. chs. 6-9.

91. The place of the hermeneutical circle in Liberation theology is considered by Juan Luis Segundo, The Liberation of Theology (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977), pp.7-38 and 231-7: As Rosino Gibellini says of Segundo's understanding of the term, in his book The Liberation Theology Debate, p.11: 'For Juan Luis Segundo, the hermeneutical circle does not function in academic theology. Academic theology infers its perennial responses from the content of revelation, considered from an atemporal perspective, and applies them to the human situation. By contrast, the theology of liberation reintroduces the hermeneutical circle: it begins from a specific situation, from which current questions arise, and puts these questions to the revelation. The revelation, interrogated in this way, provides a response which illuminates the individual and social situation of the person putting the questions.'

92. Leonardo Boff, 'Eine Kreative Rezeption des II. Vatikanums aus der Sicht der Armen: Die Theologie der Befreiung', Orientierung 46, 1979, p.640, quoted in Rosino Gibellini, p.5; Gibellini, p.15, cites the liberation theologian Hugo Assmann's criticism of European political theology, including the 'theology of revolution', that it '"moved away from the facts"; it was not - to make things more specific in terms of the language of the theology of liberation - reflection as a

"second act".'

93. Gibellini, p.9.

94. Robert Schreiter, p.91.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., pp.91-2.

97. Ibid., pp.12-16.

98. Ibid., p.22.

99. Ibid., pp.6-12.

100. Ibid., pp.12-3.

101. For an example of a black liberation theology that deals with questions of black identity and experience in a North American context, see James H. Cone, God of the Oppressed (New York, New York: Seabury Press, 1975), pp.16-38, 133-7, 163-94.

102. Ibid., pp.13-4.

103. Ibid., pp.14-5.

104. Ibid., p.15.

105. William Storrar, Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1990).

106. Church and Nation Committee Report, 'The Government of Scotland', in The Church of Scotland, Reports to the General Assembly 1989, pp.144-52; also published in, Jock Stein (ed.), Scottish Self-Government: Some Christian Viewpoints (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1989), pp.14-24.

107. Robert J. Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies, p.40.

108. John W. de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1991), p.xii.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., pp.47-91.

112. Ibid., pp.92-137.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid., pp.138-88.

115. Ibid., pp.189-235.

116. Ibid., pp.236-81.

117. Ibid, p.88, 'The Scots Confession of 1560 summarizes its hermeneutical principles by making three points that should guide any interpretation of Scripture. "We dare not perceive or admit any interpretation which is contrary to any principle point of our faith, or to any other plain text of Scripture, or to the rule of love." [Scots Confession, ch. 18] This is an admirable place to end our discussion [on the liberating Word]. First, as we have seen, there is a canon within the canon (the principle points of faith), which, for us, is Jesus Christ the Incarnate liberating Word; second, Scripture interprets itself, enabling us to see that it is the victims of society who best discern the good news of the kingdom; but, finally, the "rule of love"... is the crux, for it is in doing what God calls us to do through the Word that we really begin to understand it.'

118. Ibid., p.281.

119. David Nicholls, Deity and Domination: Images of God and the state in the 19th and 20th Centuries (London: Routledge, 1989).

120. Ibid., pp.12-3.

121. Gibellini, The Liberation Theology Debate, p.4, 'The theology of liberation is not just one more "theology of...": it does not so much put forward a new theme (as for instance does the theology of secularization), as a new way of doing theology. To avoid the theology of liberation being conceptually mistaken for a "theology of...", H. Assmann also avoids the grammar of the expression "theology of liberation" and speaks of "teologia desde la praxis de la liberacion" (= theology starting from the praxis of liberation); others speak of "theological reflection from a context of liberation".'

122. Ibid., 'Hugo Assmann's justification for it is typical: "If the historical situation of dependence and domination of two-thirds of humanity, with its thirty million deaths per year from hunger and malnutrition, does not now become the starting point for any Christian theology, in the rich and dominant countries as well, theology will no longer be able to locate and give specific historical expression to its basic themes.... For this reason "it is necessary to save the church from its cynicism".'

123. Ibid., p.5.
124. Robert Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies, p.92.
125. Naim Stifan Ateek, Justice, and Only Justice (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1990).
126. Ibid., p.6.
127. Ibid., see pp.21-42, 92-9, 163-75.
128. Ibid., p.187, 'The challenge to Palestinian Christians, and indeed to all Palestinians and to all people in this conflict in Israel-Palestine, is: do not destroy yourself with hate; maintain your inner freedom; insist on justice, work for it, and it shall be yours.'
129. Charles Villa-Vicencio, A Theology of Reconstruction: Nation-building and Human Rights (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
130. Ibid., p.7,8.
131. Ibid., pp.19-23.
132. Ibid., pp.28-9.
133. Ibid., pp.143-50, for example, where a Reformed perspective on human rights is considered.
134. Ibid., p.49.
135. Rosino Gibellini, p.18, '... the theology of liberation is discussion with "those who are absent from history", who in Latin America are involved in becoming the historical subject of a process of popular liberation ....'
136. John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, p.xvii.

The Catholic Model of the Christian Nation

For seven hundred years, from the fourteenth to the twentieth centuries, one theological paradigm of Scotland has dominated the imagination of Scottish Christians in their thinking about nationhood. It has included a doctrine of God as the Almighty, judge and ruler over the destiny of the nations. It has drawn on a 'theology of glory', centred on Christ as the ascended Lord, victorious in heaven and, through the advance of his Kingdom on earth, conquering the nations in power and glory. It has upheld a triumphant vision of the victorious conquest of Scottish national life by the Christian church, faith and ethic. Whether held by medieval clergy, seventeenth century covenanters, or Victorian moral reformers, this paradigm has looked at Scotland as under Christ the King. It has assumed that any Christian model of the nation would require a dominant role for the church or its confession of faith, or its ethics, in shaping the nationhood, national identity and national life of Scotland. Arising out of contextual theologies of identity, it is a paradigm of Scotland as a Christian nation.

Whenever Scots today refer to their country as a Christian nation, they are drawing on the residual ideas of this paradigm and its effect on the life and culture

of Scotland. Christianity was brought to this peripheral northern part of Europe long before the creation of the nation of Scotland out of several disparate peoples and kingdoms. The Christian religion was therefore influential in the formation and development of Scottish nationhood and national identity from their earliest origins. That influence extended from the early medieval period, through the centuries of the Scottish Reformation and Enlightenment, and down to the industrial epoch of Victorian and Edwardian Scotland. In the more secular years of the twentieth century, with declining church membership and the diminished social significance of the churches in most areas of public and private life, that influence is seen to be waning in Scotland, as in most Western countries. Yet despite the institutional and social decline of the Churches, the paradigm of a Christian nation continues to shape the thinking of many Scots, within and outwith the churches. It fashions their notions of what Scottish nationhood means today as they draw on its undoubted past achievements and rich legacy in the modern Scottish identity.

From the standpoint of Christian faith, that may no longer be a sustainable or even desirable situation, for the church or for the nation. It may prevent the acknowledgement of the often ambiguous and sometimes destructive influence of this glorious, triumphal Christian paradigm of Scotland on its national identity



and life. The theological and national vision it once offered may have turned into illusion if not myopia, blinding Christians to the realities of modern Scotland and the alternative perspectives offered by the gospel.

It is this historic paradigm of Christian nationhood in Scotland, in the form of its several historic models, and with its once dominant ideas now largely residual in the national consciousness, that requires to be re-thought. The possibility must be recognised that it may no longer provide a Christian understanding of Scotland with those evangelical insights most appropriate to the present time and social context. We have already noted Schreiter's comment that one cannot be 'satisfied with having listened once to a culture and then presuming that the contextualization of the Church has been achieved. This would presume that the culture is an unchanging and static reality.'<sup>1</sup>

Schreiter went on to cite the example of France, historically the 'eldest daughter' of the church, where Christianity seems to be dying out after a long Christian history because its theological expressions have not listened to cultural change in that country. The Ecclesia Scoticana, once the 'special daughter' of the papacy, is also facing a situation of contemporary decline after a Christian history in Scotland of at least fifteen centuries.<sup>2</sup> A theological re-assessment of its



identity and purpose as a national church in the context of cultural and political change in the life of the nation would seem to be a matter of some urgency for the Church of Scotland's institutional survival, far more for its continuing mission and service.

### The Formation of the Christian Nation Paradigm

The Christian nation paradigm of Scottish nationhood was consciously articulated theologically and firmly established politically in the national consciousness in the period of the struggle for independence in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Scotland, latterly under the leadership of Robert the Bruce, rejected the feudal claims of the English kings Edward I and Edward II to overlordship over the Scots with both armed resistance and with eloquent prose. In the course of these events an identifiable form of pre-modern nationalism mobilised the existing national consciousness of the kingdom of Scots into a political ideology for the defence of the nation's independence. As Anthony Smith has argued, the roots of national identity and nationalism often lie in earlier and more ancient ethnic ties and loyalties.<sup>4</sup> This is certainly the case in Scotland, where a diverse kingdom brought together an astonishing range of ethnic groups into one nation a century before the Wars of Independence. Edward Cowan has traced the way in which origin myths, full of biblical figures and imagery,

functioned in shaping that shared sense of Scottish identity and concludes:

It may be doubted whether any country of comparable size anywhere in Europe had to contend with so many different ethnic groups in the early Middle Ages. This is part of the uniqueness of Scottish history. By 1200 these groups were moving towards some kind of shared identity, fostered by the myths of the past. The Wars of Independence were a long way off, but already it could be said that a nation was being forged on the anvil of the centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The church and Christian religion were inseparable from that process of national and ideological formation within what was understood to be an explicitly Christian kingdom and nation. Clerics such as Bernard of Linton, Abbot of Arbroath, sided with Bruce in the cause of national independence and drafted the documents that were addressed to Rome and the popes in Scotland's cause. Such propaganda argued Scotland's case against England before this international court of appeal with legal and literary skill and myth-making invention.

The greatest of these documents was the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320, a letter from the Scottish barons to Pope John XXII calling on him to recognise Scotland's autonomy and separate history under its own king and to reject the king of England's advances north of the border under the cloak of feudal rights.<sup>6</sup> We can identify several dominant theological and national ideas in the Declaration of Arbroath which shaped the tradition embodied in the Christian nation paradigm of Scotland and

which were to be transmitted by various historical exemplars down through the centuries. At least four dominant ideas can be discerned within this early fourteenth century text and the tradition of Christian nationhood of which it is an early and important expression.

#### 1. Identification of the Nation with a Christian Society

First, it is a text that makes a clear identification of the church with the nation in forming one Christian community. The Declaration offers a theological interpretation of the interests of the nation, a contextual theology of identity in which the culture and political interests of the Scottish nation are affirmed and strengthened in the biblical, religious and moral terms of medieval Catholic Christianity. The Declaration is clearly set within the world of Christendom, that notion of a universal Christian society or corpus Christianum, going back to the Constantinian settlement of the Roman Empire, and the authoritative statement of the doctrine of the two swords, or two authorities, temporal and spiritual, by Pope Gelasius I at the close of the fifth century. As George H. Sabine has stated it:

According to the view universally accepted in the eleventh century - and indeed not overtly denied for centuries thereafter - human society is divinely ordained to be governed by two authorities, the spiritual and the temporal, the one wielded by priests and the other by secular rulers, both in accordance with divine and natural

law.... Within this circle of ideas, there was, properly speaking, neither church nor state in the modern meaning of those terms. There was not one body of men who formed the state and one which formed the church, for all men were included in both. There was only a single Christian society, as St Augustine had taught in his City of God, and it included, at least for the eleventh century, the whole world. Under God this society had two heads, the pope and the emperor, two principles of authority, the spiritual rule of priests and the temporal rule of kings, and two hierarchies of governing officials, but there was no division between two bodies or societies.<sup>7</sup>

This Christendom idea of Europe as one Christian community, with its dual authorities in the spiritual and temporal spheres, was to remain a dominant and all-encompassing framework within which the life of a Christian nation was understood and pursued. This was the case not only in the medieval period but also in the era of the Protestant reformation, with its idea of Scotland as one godly commonwealth within a reformed Protestant Christendom. Indeed, the idea survived well into the more secular and pluralist period of the twentieth century, in the notion of a Christian society and civilization.

In the Declaration of Arbroath, the nation's political struggle for independence is interpreted within the wider context, loyalties and authorities of Christendom, with the Scots' appeal to the pope to uphold the country's liberty as an ancient Christian people. Promising to go on crusade to the Holy Land once free of

the English threat of invasion, the Scots declared: 'And God (who is ignorant of nothing) knows with how much cheerfulness both our king and we would go thither, if the king of England would leave us in peace, and we do hereby testify and declare it to the Vicar of Christ and to all Christendom.'<sup>8</sup> So pervasive is this idea that Scotland formed part of one inclusive Christian society that it may be considered the dominant idea in the Christian nation paradigm upon which the other ideas depended and within which they operated.

The identity of Scotland as a seamless Christian society, and the identification of Scotland with the wider Christian world, are embodied in the historical exemplar of the Declaration of Arbroath to the extent that we may term it a declaration of Christian nationhood and the fusion of Scottish and Christian identities. A contextual theology of identity is operative in the Declaration, in which the identification of the Christian church, its belief and practice with the history and culture, interests and politics of the nation is complete.

This point is reinforced by the arguments put forward by Professor Geoffrey Barrow in his study of 'The Scottish Clergy in the War of Independence'.<sup>9</sup> Contrary to the received view that the Scottish clergy displayed a distinctive and decisive patriotism in the late

thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, he argues that only a minority of prominent clergy actively supported the cause of independence and in that they were not in any way different from their fellow countrymen. They acted as integral part of the one Christian society. It is wrong, he argues, to see the church as a distinct and separate ecclesiastical body within the feudal kingdom, made up of clergy whose loyalty was first to that church rather than to a range of other social identities within the nation:

Suppose, on the contrary, the Scottish church did not form a sharply distinct, unassimilated, element in the nation, that Scotsmen in clerical orders were not markedly different from Scotsmen out of them, that they were neither more nor less heroic than their fellow countrymen, but that, being literate and members of a highly organised corporate institution they could, if the need arose, exploit those advantages ... this, I believe, would be a truer hypothesis and would explain more intelligibly the part taken by the clergy in the struggle with England. Chronicle and record evidence suggests that the Scottish nation - the communitas regni Scotie - possessed a majority which waited for a lead from others, and an articulate minority accustomed to giving a lead.... I believe that this state of affairs was reflected in the church, which had an inarticulate majority and a dominant minority that was itself divided by conflicts of loyalty and interest.<sup>10</sup>

Barrow concludes his study of the role and attitudes of the clergy during the War of Independence by arguing that those supporting independence were led by a majority of the bishops. Most of these bishops had secure social origins among the lairds and lesser barons, enjoyed economic security through the provision of

benefices and many were well educated to university level. They were used to running the church administration and providing the crown with its educated servants. It was not surprising, then, that they offered these intellectual and clerical skills to the service of the nation, the community of the realm of Scotland and its guardians. But in doing so, Barrow holds, 'Nothing suggests that the clergy held ideas on the struggle for independence which differed appreciably from those held by the laity.'<sup>11</sup> In drafting documents like the Declaration of Arbroath, 'they were certainly not produced by a clerical minority working in isolation from the laity.'<sup>12</sup> Indeed:

... the clergy in general, and certainly its dominant element in particular, supported the national cause for the same reasons and with the same constancy as the laity.... it would be as wrong to explain the Scottish clergy's part in the War of Independence by some natural clerical propensity for patriotism or freedom as it would be to portray Wallace as a leader of democratic nationalism....<sup>13</sup>

Clearly, clergy and laity saw themselves as part of one Christian community, in which spiritual and secular interests were distinct but inseparably linked, as in the rest of Christendom. The Christian nation paradigm would continue to imagine Scotland as this one Christian community, in different versions or models, into the twentieth century. By then, its identification of church and nation in one Christian society would be increasingly problematic.

## 2. Identification of the Nation with the Chosen People

This all-encompassing Christendom framework gives rise to the second dominant idea, that Scotland is to be imagined as a chosen people of God. This identification of the nation with the providence of divine election and purpose was understandable, according to James Kellas, quoting from the Declaration of Arbroath:

It was obvious at this time of pervasive religious culture that such a nation must be 'God's People'. Certainly, the Jews had already proclaimed their Covenant with God, which included a 'Promised Land' in Israel, and the Scots would also be expected to be appointed by God as a favoured nation. And so it is: "Their high qualities and merits, if they were not otherwise manifest, shine out sufficiently from this: that the king of kings and lord of lords, our lord Jesus Christ, after his passion and resurrection, called them, even though settled in the uttermost ends of the earth, almost the first to his most holy faith." This special relationship of the Scots to Jesus, would hopefully not be lost on the Pope, to whom the letter was addressed. 'God's People' is a favourite idea of nationalists, and apart from the Scots in the 14th century, Jews, Afrikaners and Mormons have used the phrase. It is a powerful reinforcement of the other foundations of subjective national identity.<sup>14</sup>

Kellas goes on to note that the existence of a national church reinforces this sense of nationhood and nationalism:

When 'God's People' have a national church of their own this gives a strong institutional support to national identity and nationalism. Institutions give rise to 'vested interests' which are social and economic as well as ideological. The Scottish nation is closely identified with the Church of Scotland, and even before the presbyterian Reformation the Christian Church was organised separately in Scotland. Thus the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath to the Pope sought national recognition for Scotland within the Roman Catholic Church as well as political independence for Scotland. After



the Reformation, the Church of Scotland was sharply differentiated from the Church of England within Protestantism because the former was presbyterian and Calvinist while the latter was episcopalian and 'Anglo-Catholic' (sic) in theology.<sup>15</sup>

This dominant idea of the Scots as a chosen people was to take centre stage in the seventeenth century Calvinist understanding of Scotland as a covenant nation, but it had its roots in this earlier period and Declaration. As Gordon Donaldson has commented on this line of continuity in the Scottish sense of elect national identity from the 1320 Declaration to the 1638 National Covenant: 'The reason why the Covenant captured the imagination and won the devoted zeal of so many Scots was that it flattered their national conceit. The idea that the Scots were a specially favoured people, and even a Chosen People, goes back to the St Andrew legends and is explicit in the Declaration of Arbroath....'<sup>16</sup> In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it may be seen to have survived as a residual secularized idea within the Scottish identity, in the view that, as a small people, the Scots had made a remarkable religious, intellectual and inventive contribution to the world out of all proportion to their numbers, second only to the Jews.

The significance attached in the early twentieth century to the recovery of one united presbyterian national church for the welfare of the nation, may also be seen as in part an expression of this dominant idea.

Here again the national church is identified with a providential reading of the nation's history, indeed its very existence. As one writer on church and nation put it, 'The re-united Church is a national symbol. One may even doubt whether there could be a Scotland without it.'<sup>17</sup> This a long-rooted idea in Scotland's identity.

### 3. Identification of the Church with the State

The third dominant idea is that of the Church's identification with the state in one Christian polity, understood as a distinct constitutional community with the right to independence and sovereignty. Here the church identifies with the nation in its struggle to assert its right to sovereign independence, a nationalist position. We have already noted above, in chapter 1, the historical and scholarly arguments for dating a form of pre-modern nationalism in Scotland from this late thirteenth and early fourteenth century period.<sup>18</sup> As James Kellas has argued, again citing the Declaration of Arbroath:

An early manifestation of national consciousness and nationalism is seen in the 'Declaration of Arbroath' of 1320. This was a letter sent by a group of Scottish nobles and others to the Pope, seeking his support for the independence of Scotland, which was being threatened by England. The letter asserts the idea of a Scottish nation, and propounds an ideology which equates national independence for Scotland with freedom for the national community, itself seen as a national right. Similar statements about nationality and nationalism can be found in nearly all parts of the world, but there are few which have survived in documentary form from such an early period.<sup>19</sup>

A case can be made, then, that, in the comment of Professor Barrow, 'it is precisely the authentic note of nationalism and emphasis on national freedom which gives the Declaration its special interest'<sup>20</sup>, and makes it possible to speak of the idea of the Scottish nation and the expression of a pre-modern form of Scottish political nationalism from this period onwards:

The letter to Pope John remains, in spite of flaws, a most impressive piece of work. Certainly we shall find no clearer statement of Scottish nationalism and patriotism in the fourteenth century. Equally certainly, no finer claim to national independence was produced in this period anywhere in western Europe. In this respect, the conservative community of the Scottish realm stands out in advance of the age.<sup>21</sup>

In the Declaration of Arbroath and the movement for independence that preceeded it, led by Robert the Bruce, the key political idea for imagining the nation of Scotland is 'the community of the realm'. Barrow considers that 'this idea formed the dominant theme in the political history of Bruce's Scotland'<sup>22</sup> and notes that it was frequently used in the documents of the period. He argues that the term meant 'the totality of the king's free subjects, but also something more than this: it meant the political entity in which they and the king were comprehended.'<sup>23</sup> Significantly for our purposes, 'It was in fact the nearest approach to the later concept of a nation or a national state that was possible in an age'<sup>24</sup> which still thought of a kingdom in

the older feudal way, as the fief or property of the king. Barrow believes that Bruce's success was due ultimately to his grasp of this newer political idea of Scotland as the community of the realm, 'by which the constitutional integrity and the remarkable political toughness of the Scottish kingdom came to be expressed towards the close of the thirteenth century.'<sup>25</sup>

In the Declaration of Arbroath, Barrow argues, Scotland was putting into practice the latest constitutional thinking in Christendom on the nature of popular sovereignty, as found, for example, in the close contemporary political writings of Marsiglio of Padua, his Defensor Pacis of 1324.<sup>26</sup> It was this idea of independence for the political nation, the community of the realm, that united the Christian nation of church and state: 'In their different ways, Wallace, the middle-class conservative, Bruce, the aristocratic revolutionary, and the clergy, who after many years of loyalty to King John rallied, not without hesitation, in support of King Robert, were all acting in response to an idea of the community of the realm which was the distinctive thirteenth-century contribution to the constitutional development of Scotland.'<sup>27</sup> It is this constitutional conviction about the sovereignty of the nation, a nationalist idea shared by the state and church alike, that became one of the key dominant ideas of the Christian nation paradigm.

This identification of church and state in one independent Scottish polity at first may seem to have had a more ambiguous and contested history in the post-reformation period, leading as it did to the loss of Scottish statehood in the British union. It may appear to have become only a residual idea within the Christian model of Scottish nationhood in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, following on from the parliamentary union with England in 1707. However, it will be argued that this dominant idea continued in a modified and re-stated but still important form in the Reformed and secular presbyterian models of Scottish identity after 1560.

It was expressed in a doctrine seen as vital to the nation's welfare, the sovereignty of Christ in the self-governing national Kirk, and its claimed freedom from state control. Sovereignty and church-state relations, in this sense, were as important in the Reformed as in the Catholic models of the Christian nation.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the idea of the sovereignty of the Scottish nation, and the church's role in that sovereignty, has remained a matter of lively debate into the present day.<sup>29</sup> This constitutional idea will be re-examined in chapter 5 but it should be noted here as one of the defining aspects of the Christian nation paradigm and its contextual theology of identity. It continued in the Reformed model in a distinctive but still recognisable form.

#### 4. Identification of the Nation with Christ the King

The fourth dominant idea in the Christian nation paradigm is the christological identification of Scotland with Christ the King. Perhaps the key phrase in the Declaration that reveals this is the one which refers to Christ calling the Scots to faith through the instrument of the apostle Andrew, 'after His Passion and Resurrection'.<sup>30</sup>

The Declaration claims that the Scots were among the first to be honoured by Christ after his passion and resurrection, through the legend of Andrew bringing the gospel to Scotland. The practical theological point to note here is the identity of the Christ who sends his apostle with the gospel to Scotland. He is described in the document as 'the King of Kings, the Lord Jesus Christ, after His Passion and Resurrection'. This is Jesus of Nazareth after his crucifixion, burial and the resurrection appearances where he still bore the marks of his death in his risen body: no longer the humiliated and suffering servant, the crucified saviour, but Christ the ascended and reigning king. The Declaration is clearly marked by a regnal christology of the triumphant and reigning Christ, a christology, it will be argued, that would continue and be developed after the Protestant reformation.<sup>31</sup>

In this theology of nationhood in the Declaration,

the apostle Andrew is seen as the patron and protector of Scotland on behalf of Christ the King. The need for such a practical theology is made obvious in the next section of the document. The protection of the nation by Andrew, its patron saint, was made secure on earth by the pope's recognition that Scotland was in his special care. The Scottish Church was the '*filia specialis*', the special daughter of Rome and its popes, as an earlier papal bull of 1192 had described the relationship. The nation had enjoyed freedom and peace under their protection until Edward, king of England intervened in Scottish affairs and subjected the Scots to terrible suffering. Then divine providence raised up a lawful Scottish king, 'like another Joshua or Maccabeus', to deliver that other chosen little nation of Scotland from the enemy's hand. The nation needed a strong, resolute and rightful king like Robert the Bruce to ensure its survival and freedom, just as ancient Israel looked to Joshua and Maccabeus to lead and deliver it from its enemies. The christological concomitant of that was a Christ who was seen, like Bruce, to be the rightful king and lord, vindicated after the suffering and shame of his passion and now reigning in heaven.

The document ends with the intention of the Scottish king and people to play their part in the relief of the Holy Land and Christian territories from the pagans, once their own country has been made secure

against shameful, unbrotherly attack from the Christian prince of England. Both Scotland and Christendom are therefore seen as under threat from their enemies. A final plea is made 'to Him who is the Sovereign King and Judge', the Christ who alone can grant strength, courage and deliverance to the Scots and defend their cause.

It is not surprising theologically or historically that the Scots in the early fourteenth century should gravitate towards the identity of Christ the king in the Declaration of Arbroath. There was a good Biblical precedent which they themselves recognised. After centuries of suffering and uncertainty as to their national survival from the period of the Exile, the people of Israel looked increasingly to a regal messiah figure who would be another mighty king like David to deliver them from the hands of their enemies. Their historical experience led them to neglect that other strand in their prophetic literature which saw the messiah as a suffering servant.<sup>32</sup> In the Declaration the Scots themselves draw a parallel with Israel in this period, under the rule of the Maccabees who won for Israel a short period of independence in the second century BC before the final onset of Roman rule. As Barrow notes, in his essay on 'The Idea of Freedom in Medieval Scotland', the famous statement in the Declaration of Arbroath that the Scots were fighting not for glory, riches or honours but for freedom, was in fact



derived from the classical and pagan writer Sallust's history of the Cataline Conspiracy.<sup>33</sup> However, 'thirteenth and fourteenth century minds were more attuned to the Bible than to the Latin classics' and so the explicit references to other national struggles for freedom in the Declaration are biblical rather classical:

For Scots of the later Middle Ages, the books of the Maccabees seem to have held a special fascination. Here was unfolded in terse and vivid prose the story of a small nation fighting what must often have seemed a hopeless war against overwhelming odds to preserve its integrity and independence. Those Scots who knew their scriptures and could look back over the events from 1291 to the 1320s must have found it easy enough to transfer the struggles of Israel to their own. King Edward I could be cast as Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Wallace, whose murder of the Sheriff of Lanark in 1297 was the signal for a national revolt, could be seen as a more youthful version of Mattathias, who signalled the revolt of Israel by slaying the renegade Jew on the altar at Modin and along with him King Antiochus' commissioner. Even if Edward II did not quite fit the role of the usurping Tryphon, Robert the Bruce could certainly be seen as a conflation of Judas Maccabeus and his brother Jonathon, both of them mighty captains. The author of the Declaration must have been conscious of the parallels. King Robert, he wrote, like another Maccabeus or Joshua, cheerfully bore toil, fatigue, hunger and peril that his people and heritage might be delivered out of the hands of their enemies.<sup>34</sup>

Under the hammer of invasion and oppression from England, Scotland too shaped a practical theology of nationhood that saw Christ as the mighty and victorious King judging the nations and vindicating his people. A small nation under external threat but with a sense of universal destiny finds in the king figure the hope for a glorious vision of national triumph. The figure of the

suffering servant is too close to its own historical experience to be attractive as a source of hope for deliverance and liberation as a nation. Here we see a contextual theology of identity fully operative in the Declaration of Arbroath, in which biblical figures in the Vulgate translation of the books of the Maccabees may have influenced fourteenth and fifteenth century descriptions of national heroes like Bruce and Wallace:

... the letter of 1320 says that divine providence, right of succession by the laws of Scotland, and the consent and assent of the people made Bruce 'our prince and king' (nostrum fecerunt principem et regem). Princeps is the word used of both Judas Maccabeus and his brother Jonathon, to whom his followers said 'we have chosen thee to be our prince and captain... that thou mayest fight our battles' (te elegimus esse nobis in principem et ducem). And the fifteenth-century writers still show an awareness of the parallel which could be drawn between Scotland threatened by her powerful neighbour England and Israel threatened by her powerful neighbour Syria. Walter Bower likens Wallace to Mattathias fighting for the liberty of his people.<sup>35</sup>

In making this analysis of the Scots propagandists, Barrow suggests that the books of the Maccabees gave them all the nationalism they could want but they 'largely dispensed with the religion, save for feeling that God was on their side.' This highlights the danger in such a contextual theology of identity that the use of Scripture ceases to exercise any critical role in evaluating national life. It merely buttresses the establishment interests of a prevailing national identity imagined in conventional biblical and religious terms. This is a

problem which was to become acute for the Catholic model of the Christian nation as it was subject to growing demands for reform from within and outwith its own ranks in the sixteenth century.

Having outlined four of the key dominant ideas of the Christian nation paradigm, the identification of Scottish society, history, sovereignty and national identity with Christendom, providence, a national church-state constitutional link and a triumphant christology of Christ the king, the operation of these paradigmatic ideas in practical models of church and nation will now be considered. The first to be considered is the distinctively Catholic model of church and nation to be found within the close identification of the medieval church with Scottish nationhood.

#### The Catholic Model - A Free Nation

If the founding historical exemplars in the Christian nation paradigm of Scottish nationhood are those of Jewish heroes, leading apostles, the triumphant Christ, the sovereign King and Judge, and national heroes like the victorious Bruce, then it is not surprising that this tradition led to a model of a triumphant nation motivated by high spiritual purpose and not by worldly concerns. The medieval Catholic model of Scotland contained within the Declaration of Arbroath and the

subsequent history of medieval Scotland is of a free nation whose liberties are guaranteed by the King of Kings, providing his protection through the agency of patron saint, pope and lawful king.

The key concern of the nation, in this theological model, is to resist dominion by a foreign power and to contend, not for glory, riches or honours, but for freedom alone, 'which no honest man will lose but with his life'. This shared love of freedom and willingness to sacrifice their lives for it is seen in the Declaration as the bond that unites the community of the realm in common purpose as a nation. As Barrow has argued, that freedom conveyed both the sense of national independence and individual liberty:

... personal liberty and social freedom are important and must have been important in later medieval Scotland. We certainly cannot take it for granted that all Scots of Bruce's time enjoyed that full freedom (libertas magna) to which, according to Abbot Bernard of Arbroath, King Robert said they were accustomed on the eve of the Battle of Bannockburn. The freedom of a country, a kingdom or a nation was only one of a number of freedoms which the minds of men of that age could encompass or envisage. National independence is genuine freedom of a kind, and if the equation of it with liberty tout court seemed to loom too large in my study of the struggle for Scottish independence, that is because it looms large in the many documents thrown up by that struggle.... Scots in the age of Wallace and Bruce associated the word "freedom" with the idea of national independence ... by "freedom" John Barbour "clearly meant the political independence of a kingdom".<sup>36</sup>

The sense of a shared spiritual purpose undergirding the whole life of the nation, including its political life,

is very characteristic of the Christian nation paradigm of Scotland.

The shared images of Christ the King and St Andrew in heaven, St Peter's successors in Rome and the biblically resonant heroic figure of King Robert in Scotland act as the carriers and guarantors of that spiritual purpose. They are the founding historical exemplars in this tradition of the Christian nation, in Ian G. Barbour's use of the term, outlined in chapter 1.37 In these three centres of power, cosmic, global and local, the King of Kings offers his protection to the Scots, before the throne of God, at the heart of Christendom, and on the throne of Scotland, to secure their freedom and political independence.

Although Scotland is seen as a small nation on the edge of the world, under constant threat from its more powerful southern neighbour, it can triumph and fulfill a wider destiny within Christendom, despite the great odds against it. This is another characteristic of the Christian nation paradigm, a sense that Scotland's precarious existence as a nation can ultimately be made certain by sacrificial action, even if only by a faithful remnant: as the Declaration of Arbroath proclaimed, 'For as long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the rule of the English.' The triumph of a Christian nation

is made sure though Christ the King, the high spiritual purpose shared by the whole nation, and, finally, the willingness of even a remnant of the true nation to sacrifice itself for that King, purpose and vision of the nation, whatever the cost. Such an idea of spiritual self-sacrifice for Scotland would come to the fore again in the period of the later Covenanters and their moorland remnant of Cameronians, fighting and dying as a tiny minority for their vision of a covenanted nation.<sup>38</sup>

In the creation of a free nation through their own sacrificial action, the Scots risked taking on the identity of the demiurge, becoming the subordinate agents of God in this divine creative work of nationhood. This 'demiurgic identity' gave rise to the characteristic Scottish conviction that the creation and continuing existence of a free nation lay ultimately in their own hands, in great all or nothing, do or die efforts by the Scots at key moments in their history, albeit under a divine providence. The paradigm of a triumphant nation under Christ the King, and of a nation united by a great common spiritual and moral purpose, finally seems rather fragile, in that it depends on the sacrificial efforts of the faithful few within the vicissitudes of human history. It too easily collapses into the fatalism that has been such a marked feature of Scottish religious and national identity. As Neal Ascherson has observed, the Scots swing between self-assertion and self-distrust.<sup>39</sup>

The theological basis for this medieval Catholic model of Scotland as a free nation is made even more explicit in a later fourteenth century text, The Bruce, a poem by John Barbour, Archdeacon of St Machar's church in Aberdeen.<sup>40</sup> It is a narrative account of the achievements of King Robert of Scotland, written when Scotland's fortunes were at a low ebb after the reign of a weak successor, David II. Not unlike Friedrich Schleiermacher in his sermons in Berlin on church, nation and state in 1813, Barbour was addressing a nation in crisis and offering a practical theological response.<sup>41</sup>

Barbour wishes to remind the Scots of their past heroism as a nation and to inspire a renewed patriotism, according to the critic Kurt Wittig in a study of the poem in The Scottish Tradition in Literature.<sup>42</sup> Central to the notion of patriotism which Barbour wishes to foster are the virtues of freedom and right, the justice of any cause. To understand 'The Bruce', Wittig argues:

It is essential to grasp the fact that the conviction on which Barbour's (moral vision) was based had itself a religious basis.... it is instructive to consider Bruce's reply ... when Edward I offers him the Kingdom of Scotland on condition that Bruce will recognise him as overlord :

"Schyr," said he, "sa God save me,  
The kynryk yharn I nocht to have,  
Bot gyff it fall of rycht to me :  
And gyff God will that it sa be,  
I sall als frely in all thing  
Hald it, as it afferis to king.

"Fredome" and "richt" are here represented as things that God alone can give. This is a



conception that runs like a red thread through the whole poem.<sup>43</sup>

In Scotland's struggle for independence from England, Barbour sees the kind of parallel with Israel's own fight for independence under the leadership of the Maccabees that was made in the earlier Declaration of Arbroath:

... why does Barbour refer to the Maccabees? Is not the fact that he compares the Scots, especially in such a context, to a small nation defending their God-given right and God-given freedom, with God's active help, against vastly superior forces, in itself highly significant. In this connexion, it should be observed that the Declaration of Arbroath (1320), surely the most remarkable political document of the Middle Ages, expresses the same ideas of freedom and right and God's help, and also compares Bruce to Maccabeus: the crucial passage reads like a synopsis of Barbour's poem.<sup>44</sup>

The paradigm of Scottish nationhood to be discerned within these complimentary fourteenth century texts is, therefore, clearly a theological one, with an emphasis on the role of heavenly and earthly kingship and a God who is seen to identify the cause of national independence with his own cause of freedom and justice. Barbour gave classic expression to the medieval love of freedom that informed the Catholic model's image of Scotland as a free nation, and which also forms the rhetorical climax to the 1320 letter to the pope by the Scottish barons, with their fight for liberty alone. As Barbour wrote:

A! Freedom is a noble thing!  
Freedom makis man to have liking;  
Freedom all solace to man givis:  
He livis at ease that freely livis!  
A noble hart may have nane ease,  
Na ellis nocht that may him please,



Gif freedom failye; for free liking  
Is yarnit owre all othir thing.  
Na he, that ay has livit free,  
May nocht knaw weill the propyrtie,  
The anger, na the wretchit dome,  
That is couplit to foul thirldome.  
But gif he had assayit it,  
Then all perquer he suld it wit,  
And suld think freedom mare to prize  
Than all the gold in warld that is.<sup>45</sup>

But there is one significant difference between the barons' letter and the archdeacon's poem. While the Declaration of Arbroath makes careful reference to the nation's patron saint and its special relationship with the popes in Rome to bolster its case for independence, Barbour makes no such allusions in his poem. As Wittig notes, 'He has a profound faith in God, yet nowhere does he refer to the Church as a mediator, mention its rituals, invoke its saints, or himself employ its symbolism, its allegories, its dogmas.'<sup>46</sup> For Wittig, Barbour's religious outlook is remarkable for a fourteenth century churchman, in that his direct communion with God without the Church's mediating role foreshadows the approach of the reformation a century and a half later. More than that, it can be argued that Barbour's theological approach to nationhood in some sense foreshadows the distinctively reformed approach that we shall look at in the next chapter, with its model of a godly nation created through the divine Word alone.

For our purposes, Barbour's significance lies in

the fact that he extends the Christian nation paradigm of nationhood, first found in the Declaration of Arbroath earlier in the century, in a way that will allow it to be embraced by later post-medieval Christian models of Scottish nationhood. Barbour's poetic song of triumph, in which 'God, just and almighty, is the ruler of Destiny' for the nations of the earth, is one that both Reformed and secular Scots could easily transpose into their own biblical or ethical key in later centuries, without reference to Catholic doctrine and piety. Indeed, Wittig notes that, like later popular Gaelic proverbial wisdom, Barbour offers a religious conception of a just and almighty God, ruler of destiny, 'but Christ is little mentioned, and no specifically Christian ideas are expressed.'<sup>47</sup> Barbour stressed a divine providence in the affairs of the nation, undergirded by the religious and moral values of freedom and right. As will be argued in chapter 4, in developing a secularized Calvinist model of the Christian nation, it is just such a religious understanding that would prove attractive to many Scots in the nineteenth century who wished to hold on to the idea of a Christian society, abandoning orthodox Christian belief while retaining, like Thomas Carlyle, a religious sense of historical destiny and moral purpose in national life.

However, before the Christian nation paradigm developed these later models, it went through its own

medieval metamorphosis. If Barbour himself did not see the Church and its religious life as essential to the identity of the nation, the clergy in the century that followed certainly did.

The Catholic historian Monsignor David McRoberts has shown, in a seminal essay on 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the fifteenth Century', the extent to which Scotland shared in the marked growth in nationalist sentiment in later medieval Europe.<sup>48</sup> The Scottish Church was not only influenced by these new ideas from the continent, 'but, in turn, did much to promote the new outlook among the people of Scotland.'<sup>49</sup> In the fifteenth century we see the coherent and rich development in Scotland of the distinctively Catholic model of the Christian nation paradigm of Scottish nationhood, one in which the Church identified itself even more closely with the culture and traditions of the country, for both religious and nationalist reasons.<sup>50</sup>

As we have already considered, the religious and political concept which gave unity to medieval Europe was the notion of Christendom in which all the peoples of the civilized Christian world were united in a shared allegiance to the rule of the emperor and pope. This unity began to break apart in the fifteenth century for a whole range of complex reasons, not least among them the Great Schism between rival popes that lasted for forty

years from 1378 and divided the nations of Christendom according to their different papal loyalties. As the temporal powers of the emperor and the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope grew weaker in the period that followed, so the kingdoms of Europe sought to strengthen their local powers over church and state within the bounds of their own territories. A new political and religious idea emerged in Europe, in which each kingdom became an autonomous nation-state controlling its own political and ecclesiastical affairs. McRoberts shows how the Scottish clergy were very much involved in these continental disputes over the temporal and spiritual rule of Christendom:

It is not surprising therefore to find that fifteenth century Scotland was alive to the new trends in ecclesiastical and secular politics, that efforts were made to organise Scotland more effectively as a self-contained nation-state of Christendom after the contemporary fashion and that ecclesiastics apparently played a full and active part in developing that new Scotland.<sup>51</sup>

According to McRoberts, the aspirations and activities of these Scots clergymen, 'who were trying to build a new and better Scotland in the fifteenth century'<sup>52</sup>, are to be understood in nationalist and not strictly ecclesiastical terms. McRoberts distinguishes between a negative kind of nationalism, which in fifteenth century Scotland took the form of anti-English feeling, and the kind of positive nationalism which, 'sought to build up pride in the kingdom of

Scotland, its traditions, life and institutions so that Scotland would be respected and take its place by right among the sovereign states of Europe.'<sup>53</sup> The Catholic Church of Scotland, the Ecclesia Scoticana, pursued this policy of nationalist identification with Scotland in a variety of religious and cultural innovations during the course of the century.

Before looking at the ways in which this happened, it is important to note that this was a continental and not just a local phenomenon. In the Declaration of Arbroath, the Scots were anxious to show that they were a free nation with a history like that of any other free and sovereign nation within Christendom. Reference is made in the opening section to the Scots' sojourn in Spain before moving on to their present home. This legendary visit to Spain is significant here inasmuch as there was a similar attempt by the Spanish Church to identify with the history and identity of the nation in a glorious vision of national triumph linked to the triumph of Christ the King. At the end of the fifteenth century the Catholic kings instituted the Feast of the Triumph of the Holy Cross in thanksgiving for the final recovery of Spain from the Moors and Islamic rule. The introit used in the Mass quotes Matthew chapter 25 and Christ's invitation there to the blessed ones to enter the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world. As McRoberts comments:

In this introit, Spain is assimilated to paradise and it is suggested that the Spanish people are predestined by God from the beginning to inherit this paradise. A statement like this, sung by a full choir, year by year, over the centuries, must have made Spaniards feel they were no ordinary people. A similar purpose was latent in the fifteenth-century Scottish liturgical and devotional changes. The changes effected and attempted were a deliberate effort to emphasise the bygone glories of Scottish Christianity: they were intended to teach fifteenth-century Scotsmen about their great saints and to inculcate in Scotsmen a proper pride in their country and in the achievement of their race.<sup>54</sup>

The Scots would have to wait for another century and a half, to the time of the covenants, for the full development of their national identity as a chosen people. But the medieval Scottish Church was as willing to incorporate national elements into its liturgy as its Spanish sister, and for similar nationalist ends.

McRoberts has described the liturgy as a repository of the historical memories of a nation. For example, John Major, the great Scottish medieval scholar, argued for the missionary work of St Ninian in Scotland on the grounds of the collect of St Ninian's Mass. The liturgy was even more powerful in the public mind of the people as an unrivalled vehicle for propaganda, as in Spain. Behind the marked changes in the liturgical and devotional life of Scotland in the fifteenth century lay the Church's wish to instruct the Scottish people in their own glorious Christian past, exemplified in the

lives of Scottish saints, and to instil in them a patriotic pride in their country's achievements. Just as later generations of Victorian and twentieth century Scots would recite a litany of great Scots, inventors, explorers and scientists, to boost national morale, so fifteenth century Scots were increasingly made conscious of their Scottish identity through the revival of devotion to national saints. They became key 'organising images' in the imagined community of late medieval Scottish Catholic nationhood. McRoberts has charted this revival after a period of general neglect in the veneration of Scottish saints in the preceding centuries.

The extent of this change can be realised by contrasting the extent of devotion to Scottish saints and their shrines before and after the revival had taken its effect. McRoberts can find only one or two limited references to Scottish saints like Ninian or Machar in devotional or liturgical books from the fourteenth century, granted the relatively few medieval works that have survived. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, there is a marked difference. The 'Aberdeen Breviary' of 1509-1510 was published as a national liturgy intended to replace the English 'Sarum Use' books that had previously been in common liturgical use in Scotland. In this work, ascribed to Bishop William Elphinstone of Aberdeen, there are references to over seventy Scottish saints drawn from all over

Scotland. The Scottish breviary devotes about one fifth of the liturgical year exclusively to national saints. All of them are allocated to feast days and provided with historical lessons so that the faithful would, with patriotic pride in their own traditions, sense the saints' importance and know their place in the spiritual and national life of Scotland. Important though Elphinstone's work is, McRoberts sees it as only one outstanding example 'of a much more widespread nationalist movement to revive the memory and cult of Scottish saints'<sup>55</sup> that existed long before the breviary was produced and which continued to flourish in the decades following its publication and leading up to the Reformation in 1560.

Part of this strategy of liturgical and devotional patriotism, as McRoberts terms it, was the deliberate encouragement of the faithful to make pilgrimages to national shrines. The trend can be seen in the records of royal pilgrimages, which must have set a pattern for the devotional travels of all sections of Scottish society. Prior to the mid-fifteenth century it was uncommon for the Scottish kings to go on pilgrimage to Scottish shrines. Apart from the occasional reference to local visits, like that of Robert the Bruce to Whithorn, Scottish kings were as likely to venture across the border on pilgrimage to Canterbury. They even went abroad to Compostella or Rome, as Macbeth did in 1050.



However, all that changed in the second half of the fifteenth century. Pilgrimages to a variety of Scottish shrines from Whithorn in the south to Tain in the north, and including visits to the sites of lesser shrines, became significant and regular events in the life of the royal court from the reign of James III onwards.<sup>56</sup>

Veneration of the nation's saints at their various shrines throughout Scotland was not the only way in which the Church sought to give the faithful powerful and persuasive visual images of patriotic devotion. The nationalist message was also reinforced through the impressive building programme of the medieval Scottish Church in the fifteenth century. The particular medieval model of the Christian nation paradigm that we are concerned with here, was a model of Scotland as a free and sovereign nation that could stand comparison with any Christian nation in Europe. The pre-reformation Scottish Catholic Church wanted to show to the rest of Christendom that Scotland was a civilized nation, with a reputation for culture and learning as impressive as that of any of its larger neighbours: 'For clerics and others who had travelled abroad, the provision of more elaborate churches and institutions of learning was an obvious need if Scotland was to hold her head high among the nations of Europe.'<sup>57</sup>

Scottish clerics pursued this aim during the course

of the fifteenth century by building or by further embellishing so many of the nation's collegiate churches and by establishing Scotland's three medieval universities at St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen. An insight into their patriotic motivation can be found in Hector Boece's account of the founding of the King's College in Aberdeen by the same Bishop Elphinstone of the patriotic breviary. According to Boece, 'Elphinstone was only doing for the north what had already been done for the other two regions of Scotland and the northern university was founded "ad patriae ornamentum" - to enhance the glory of the fatherland - it was done, he repeats, "ut commodum patriae affaret atque decus" - to promote the honour and wellbeing of Scotland.'<sup>58</sup> The reason for these church and educational foundations was in part the national pride arising out of a need to find a flattering cosmopolitan comparison between Scotland and the other nations of Christendom.

Even the international religious orders in fifteenth century Scotland seem to have been affected by this nationalist enthusiasm and sought to establish their own national independence by winning recognition for separate national provinces with oversight of their Scottish affairs.<sup>59</sup> In this surge of national pride leading to demands for national autonomy, the religious orders were matched by the Scottish hierarchy itself, which secured archiepiscopal and metropolitan status for

the see of St Andrews. Seen cumulatively, these developments lead McRoberts to conclude:

All of this fifteenth century activity in the provision of more elaborate churches, the foundation of universities, the compilation of new liturgical books, largely devoted to national saints, and the popularization of national pilgrimage sites, can only be sufficiently explained by accepting that there was a concerted effort, strongly supported by the Church, to organise and equip the kingdom of Scotland so that it might qualify as one of the new type of sovereign states that were gradually taking shape in Christendom. Politicians and lawyers, soldiers and scholars all had their own contribution to make to this new Scotland: the Church's special contribution was to provide the spiritual background against which the new ideas might flourish.<sup>60</sup>

In the fourteenth century the Scottish Church identified closely with the nation's struggle for independence and helped give birth to a triumphant paradigm of Scotland as a Christian nation, and in particular a Catholic model of a free and sovereign nation. By identifying so closely with the national identity of the country, the Church in the fifteenth century was deliberately developing this original model of a free nation along lines already suggested in the 1320 Declaration of Arbroath. That document asserted Scotland's distinct and ancient national identity on the grounds of the asserted historical continuity of the Scots as a race with a (legendary) ancestry and links going back to classical and biblical times. The distinctive later medieval version of that Catholic model of Scotland was also of a free nation, but of a nation

famed throughout Christendom for its contemporary and visible cultural achievements, which stood favourable comparison with those of any nation in Europe. In 1320 the other nations of Europe were assumed to have heard of Scotland's fame as an ancient nation. By 1520 they could see the evidence for that fame with their own eyes - in the churches and universities that were the observable images of Scotland's national glory. In the conceptual terms of this thesis, they organised Scottish experience around certain key 'images of communion' in national consciousness and so served to sustain the imagined community of a Christian nation.

This is a point that is well made by McRoberts at the close of his essay on the nationalism of the Scottish Church in the medieval period. He illustrates what he sees as a fundamental change in political thinking about the nature of Christendom before and after the fifteenth century by comparing two surviving artistic works from medieval Europe; a fresco in a Dominican Church in Florence, painted about 1350, and the heraldic ceiling in St Machar's Cathedral in Aberdeen, erected about 1520. The fresco depicts in symbolic fashion the medieval concept of Christendom, with the twofold supreme authority of pope and emperor at the centre, and the lesser authorities in church and state below them, including the king of France and other princes. At the top of the picture sits Christ the king, enthroned and

surrounded by angels and saints. The picture is designed to show that the unity of Christ's heavenly kingdom is reflected in the unity of his kingdom on earth.<sup>61</sup>

The slightly earlier Declaration of Arbroath articulates this medieval concept of Christendom in its own graphic parallels between the earthly and heavenly rule of Christ the king and judge; and in its attempt to relate the authority of the kings of Scotland and England both to Christ's universal rule and to a loyalty owed to the Pope's universal jurisdiction. But it is a universal vision that is visibly loosing its appeal in Scotland by the early sixteenth century.

The ceiling in Aberdeen, probably designed by a cleric, shows in heraldic terms 'how a Scotsman viewed Christendom at the end of the Middle Ages just before the final breakdown of medieval unity.'<sup>62</sup> It is a significantly different picture from the fourteenth century one. In the centre of the three parallel rows of coats of arms stand the heraldic devices of the Church, beginning with the pope and followed by the Scottish archbishops and bishops. On one side lies the second row, the coats of arms of the great princes of Christendom, beginning with the Emperor Charles V and his imperial crown, and followed by the lesser monarchs. But on the other side, in the third row, runs the armorial bearings of the Scottish King, James V, and his nobles,

with the king's shield also surmounted by an imperial crown, indicating that he exercises an imperial authority as a sovereign ruler within his own realm. The message of this powerful visual image of late medieval Scottish nationhood would be clear to all who saw it. While the Pope remains head of the Scottish Church, the Emperor is given only a courteous passing nod. The real power is now portrayed in coded heraldic terms to lie with the King of Scots.<sup>63</sup>

With this telling visual comparison McRoberts succeeds in demonstrating how Scottish clerics responded to the prevailing nationalist ideas of the time, 'by remodelling the liturgy, the devotional life of the people and other aspects of ecclesiastical life in order to emphasise as never before, the national character of the Scottish Church.'<sup>64</sup> In this, they mirrored political developments in the life of the nation, as in the declaration of the Scottish parliament in 1469 concerning James III, that 'Oure Souerane lord has full Jurisdictione and fre Impire within his Realme.'<sup>65</sup>

In this transition from the political world of the Florentine fresco, in which the clerical authors of the Declaration of Arbroath would surely have felt at home, to the outlook of the St Machar ceiling, fostered by the fifteenth century Scottish Church, we can see the original Christian nation paradigm of 1320 - Scotland

seen as a Christian and free nation within Christendom - evolving into the distinctively nationalist version and developed Catholic model of 1520 - Scotland seen as a sovereign nation within its own boundaries, ruled by a sovereign ruler within his own realm. This was a significant political and theological development and variation in the Catholic model since 1320.

The figure of Christ the King is central to the original glorious vision of the nations, as in the Florentine fresco's portrayal of Christ enthroned in heaven and the Arbroath Declaration's affirmation of Christ as the King of Kings. The earthly kings, including Robert the Bruce, are seen as subject to the rule of Christ and his authorities on earth, whether in pope or the laws of the community of the realm. In other words the Christian nation paradigm began with a self-critical theological principle that the rulers of nations were subject to a higher moral and spiritual authority which could hold them to account. And so the Declaration states, remarkably, of Robert the Bruce, the victorious King of Scots and war hero:

But at length (after English oppression of Scotland) it pleased God, who can only heal after wounds, to restore us to liberty, from these innumerable calamities, by our most serene prince, king and lord Robert, who, for the delivering of his people and his own rightful inheritance from the enemy's hand, did, like another Joshua or Maccabeus, most cheerfully undergo all manner of toil.... To him we are obliged and resolved to adhere in all things, both upon the account of his right and his own merit, as being the person who

hath restored the people's safety in defence of their liberties. But after all, if this prince shall leave these principles he hath so nobly pursued, and consent that we or our kingdom be subjected to the king or people of England, we will immediately endeavour to expel him, as our enemy and as the subverter both of his own and our rights, and we will make another king, who will defend our liberties: For so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honours, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will loose but with his life.<sup>66</sup>

In the later Catholic model of the sovereign nation that had taken firm hold by the sixteenth century, the identification of the Church with the earthly King of Scots was in danger of eclipsing the theological source of prophetic criticism in the paradigmatic tradition, Christ the heavenly King and the rights and liberties of the people. This was certainly the view of those sixteenth century voices calling for reform in church and nation, in the face of the secular wealth and pastoral crisis to be found in the Scottish Kirk and polity.

#### An Emergent Idea of Liberation - John the Commonweal

It has been a presbyterian conceit, not only in popular piety but in an older school of presbyterian historical writing, that there were no cries for reform in the medieval Catholic Church before the work of the first Protestant martyrs and leaders like Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart and John Knox. In fact, no one exposed the corruptions of the Catholic model of



Christian nationhood more effectively than the Catholic courtier, diplomat and dramatist Sir David Lyndsay. His play, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, was first performed before the royal family in 1540, two decades ahead of the Protestant reformation in Scotland.<sup>67</sup>

As its name suggests, it is a biting satirical attack on the abuses of power, wealth and morality by the old Kirk and its clergy, at a time when the Church owned about half the national revenue and some of its clergy were notorious for their libertine ways. The play made a telling and very popular call for social and spiritual reform without challenging the existing doctrines and structures of the Scottish Kirk.

Lyndsay's attack on the corruption of the three estates of the realm in Scotland, the lords spiritual and temporal and the burgesses, is in two parts. The action begins as a conventional morality play of the period, with the king, Rex Humanitas, under the spell of the deceitful vices, while the virtues of truth and chastity are suppressed and the poor exploited in his lawless kingdom. The tide turns when Divine Correction arrives and the parliament of the Three Estates is summoned to institute vital reforms. The second part is a political play which deals with real people in the real world, not just the allegorical characters representing moral forces found in part one but recognisable social types such as

the representatives of the church, nobility, merchants and poor people of Scotland. But the action of the morality play is an essential precursor to the political and spiritual reforms carried out in parliament in the more realistic second part:

... the purpose of the new Parliament is reform, and it is clear that this political change can only be undertaken when the underlying moral conditions are appropriate. The cleaning-up of the Court which is achieved by Divine Correction in the closing scenes of Part One is, therefore, a necessary precondition for the wider political action of Part Two....68

In this political second part, John the Commonweal, a figure representing the people and true Christian piety, exposes the vices of the nation's leaders; covetousness and sensuality among the clergy, public oppression among the secular lords and falsity and deceit among the burgesses. When the reform measures advocated by John the Commonweal with passionate appeal to the gospel are put into force, his most vehement opponents are the clergy. It is their vested interests that are most threatened by the reforms.

In understanding the development of the Christian nation paradigm operating within a contextual theology of identity, upholding Scottish identity in Christian terms, (rather than operating within a contextual theology of liberation, understanding the forces of social conflict and change within Scottish society in the liberating

terms of the gospel), John the Commonweal represents a departure from the dominant ideas of that identity paradigm. What we find in the second part of Lindsay's play is a concern with social justice for the poor and oppressed common people of Scotland. While the Declaration of Arbroath spoke eloquently of the oppression of the Scots as a nation under English invasion, and made a Christian defence of the nation's identity and freedom in these terms, it was concerned with the liberties of the ruling class, the political nation or community of the realm, and only by implication with the common people. What we find in John the Commonweal and the Poor Man, who come forward in the political part of the play under the protection and encouragement of Divine Correction and Gude Counsel, is the appearance of the poor and oppressed, speaking for themselves of injustice from within the nation at the hands of their own rulers rather than from the external threat of England.

In the Declaration of Arbroath, and on the heraldic ceiling and worldview of medieval Scottish nationalism, the poor and oppressed are missing from the history of their own country. They are 'non-persons', to use a term from liberation theology and Gustavo Gutierrez: 'the person who is not recognised as human by the dominant social order: the poor, the exploited, the one who is systematically and legally despoiled of his human nature,

the one who hardly feels human.'69 Until the appearance of John the Commonweal on the literary stage, the poor are, again in a phrase used in liberation theology, 'those who are absent from history', in Scotland.<sup>70</sup> But with John the Commonweal and the Poor Man, representing the majority of the Scottish population at that time, there is in the drama of the Thrie Estaitis the same prophetic and humanizing historical process at work which Latin American liberation theology sees as fundamental to its own distinctive method and approach. That process stands out in contrast with 'progressive' European theology, including European political theology:

These are two profoundly different theologies, in that they move on different horizons and in different contexts and try to face different challenges: if progressive theology faces the challenge of critical rationality and individual freedom in the context of a society forged by the middle class, the theology of liberation is discussion with 'those who are absent from history', who in Latin America are involved in becoming the historical subject of a process of popular liberation, and this means 'calling into question first of all the economic, social and political order that oppresses them and marginalizes them, and of course the ideology that is brought in to justify this domination.' ... The difference between the two theologies arises, in the last analysis, from a political cleavage [as Gutierrez states it]: 'The exploited classes, despised ethnic groups and marginalized cultures are the historical subject of a new understanding of faith.'<sup>71</sup>

With John the Commonweal we see the oppressed poor become the subjects of their own history and a new understanding of the faith in Scotland, 'calling into question first of all the economic, social and political order that

oppresses them and marginalizes them, and of course the ideology that is brought in to justify this domination.'72 In the Scottish case, John the Commonweal calls into question the dominant nationalist ideology of the medieval Catholic model, which looked to the endowed Kirk, the cult of national saints, and the freedom of the Scottish elites in the three estates to establish its Christian nationhood. He exposes this model for having become a cover for oppressing and marginalizing Scotland's poor.

When the king, Rex Humanitas, meets 'Johne the Common-weil of fair Scotland' for the first time, he asks, 'Quhat is the caus the Common-weil is crukit?', to which John replies, 'Becauss the Common-weil hes bene overlukit.'73 When the three estates are brought before him for judgement, Divine Correction asks John to state his complaint:

Marie, on ma and ma againe,  
For the pure peopill cryis with cairis  
The infetching of the Justice Airis,  
Exercit mair for covetice  
Than for the punisching of vyce.  
Ane pegrell [paltry] thief that steillis ane kow  
Is hangit, bot he that steillis ane bow [herd]  
With als meikill geir as he may turs [carry off],  
That thief is hangit be the purs.  
Sic pykand pegrall theifis ar hangit,  
Bot he that all the world hes wrangit,  
Ane cruel tyrane, ane strang transgressour,  
Ane common publick plaine oppressour,  
By buds [bribes] may he obtaine favours  
Of tresurers and compositours;  
Thocht he serve greit punitioun,  
Gets easie compositioun,  
And throch lawis consistoriall,  
Prolix, corrupt and (pertiall) [partial, biased],

The common peopill ar put sa under,  
Thocht thay be puir, it is na wonder.<sup>74</sup>

When the clerics seek to defend themselves from John the Commonweal's attack on their financial plundering of the poor, they accuse him of heresy and he is required to recite the creed. This he does,

I beleife in God, that all hes wrocht  
And creat everie thing of nocht,  
And in His son, our Lord Jesu,  
Incarnat of the Virgin trew,  
Quha under Pilat tholit passioun,  
And deit for our salvatioun,  
And on the thrid day rais againe,  
As Halie Scriptour schawis plane;  
And als, my Lord, it is weill kend,  
How He did to the Heavin ascend,  
And set Him doun at the richt hand  
Of God the Father, I understand,  
And sall cum judge on Dumisday.<sup>75</sup>

At some prompting from Divine Correction to finish the creed, he concludes defiantly, 'I trow Sanctam Ecclesiam - Bot nocht in thir bishops nor thir freirs'; which leaves Divine Correction to respond in John's defence, 'Say quaht ye will, sirs, be sanct Tan [Ann], Me think Johne ane gude Christian man.'<sup>76</sup>

John the Commonweal is the Christian voice of the poor in the play, along with the Poor Man, calling with Divine Correction for the correcting of injustices and the ending of oppression in Scotland. As Roderick Lyall has commented, 'Correctioun ... is God's avenging angel, sent to instigate reform at every level from the personal to the political and the ecclesiastical.... For the Poor

Man is an inhabitant of the real world: he lives in the real Scotland, and his history of oppression and privation is quite different from the abstract abuses of Part One.'<sup>77</sup> Here we have an emergent idea that belongs more to a contextual theology of liberation than it does to the identity paradigm and Catholic model of Christian nationhood. For here we see not the church and king upholding Scotland's national identity as a free nation but the church and national elites being challenged over their own oppressive ways and called upon to act justly in the context of concrete human oppression and in the light of scripture.

Wittig notes one feature of the play that is very significant for our understanding of the Catholic model of the nation on the eve of the Protestant reformation. While Lyndsay does not challenge the dogma of the Church, 'he calls for the translation of the Bible as a source of truth. Characteristically, the Vices in the "Thrie Estaitis" quote the saints more frequently than the Virtues do.'<sup>78</sup> Here we can note an important shift in Christian thinking about Scottish nationhood. Unlike the movement of liturgical nationalism in the fifteenth century, devotion to saints was now seen as a cover for the spiritual corruption in the life of church and nation. Christian patriotism, informed by the truth of the Bible, must now address itself to concrete social and economic problems in the life of the nation. As Wittig

says of Lyndsay's use of allegory:

...it is a means of presenting a real social and political problem in terms of a concrete picture that we can actually visualise, and it enables Lyndsay himself, in presenting it, to keep his feet on the ground. The abstract thought that the common weal is suffering poverty is translated (ll.2438, 2456) into a picturesque, proverbial image that leaves a lasting impression on the mind - it "gars John the Common Weill want his warm clais [clothes]."79

In that 'warm clais' theology, a theology of common weal and public justice, implicitly and explicitly present within the Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, we find the historical source and liberating imagery for a Scottish contextual theology of liberation to which we shall return at the close of chapter 5. In the harsh climate of a northern European country like Scotland, poverty is experienced most acutely as physical coldness. In such a context, there could be no more resonant image of liberation from that poverty than having warm claes. It resonates not only with the context and experience of the poor and marginalized, but also puts new contextual questions to the biblical and New Testament use of 'clothing' imagery to describe the believer's relationship with God, Christ and the neighbour.<sup>80</sup>

#### Liberating Exegesis: The Hermeneutical Circle in Warm Claes Theology

If the Bible is read out of the context of the poor wanting their warm claes, then a liberating exegesis of some familiar passages becomes possible. The exegesis or



'hermeneutical circle' of liberation theology makes such a context the key to reading scripture aright.<sup>81</sup> We read the Bible in the light of our reading of social reality, and re-interpret reality in the light of that reading of scripture. Significantly, the imagery of clothing is associated on several occasions in scripture with justice for the poor, with overthrowing oppressors and with God's work of creating a new humanity in Christ. We can only give here the briefest of sketches of the form such a 'warm clothes hermeneutic' of scripture might take, as God's liberating Word for the cold and naked.

In Psalm 132, where the Lord promises to Zion that he will 'satisfy her poor with bread', v.15, he goes on to promise, vv.16, 18, 'Her priests I will clothe with salvation ... His (David's) enemies I will clothe with shame'. The clothing of salvation and justice is inseparable from the needs of the poor. In Isaiah 58:6,7, again justice for the poor is linked with the practice of clothing the poor, and both are seen as true worship before God: 'Is not this the fast that I choose: to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke? Is it not to share your bread with the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house; when you see the naked, to cover him, and not to hide yourself from your own flesh.?' This theme is taken up in the Gospels, in Matthew's great parable of judgement, ch.25,

where the righteous are those who clothe the naked, vv.38, 43, and deal justly and generously with the poor. The Jesus of Luke's Gospel promises that God will clothe the anxious believer, worried about the provision of food and clothing, as surely as he has clothed the flowers of the field, which surpass even the wealthy and magnificent king Solomon in splendour, (Luke 12:22-31). Walter Brueggemann points out that it was in Solomon's time that the exploitation of the poor by the powerful became entrenched amid affluence for the few in Israel.<sup>82</sup> In this passage in Luke, Jesus says that it is the gentile nations who seek such economic affluence (as with Solomon, through oppression?) but the true Israel is to be different. Secure in their radical faith in the Father God who knows their needs, his disciples are to put the priorities of God's kingdom first (clothing the naked poor). From this perspective, being clothed by God, like the flowers of the field, becomes a liberating image of God's kingdom and justice in an affluent but oppressive world. In the New Testament letters the image of being clothed is used to describe the new life that Christ brings to humanity. Believers are called on to clothe themselves in the Lord Jesus Christ (Romans 13:14), and to clothe themselves with compassion (Colossians 3:12) and with humility (1 Peter 5:5). Ephesians 4:17-32 uses the clothing imagery of putting off the old wicked nature of rebellious humanity and putting on 'the new nature, created after the likeness of

God in true righteousness and holiness' in Jesus Christ, vv.22-24.

And, supremely, Galatians 3:27-29 speaks of baptism as 'putting on Christ' and entering into a new humanity: vv.27,28, 'For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.' Through putting on the warm claes of Jesus Christ, his saving humanity, in baptism, the non-persons of the Jewish and ancient world, the gentile, the slave the woman, become persons of equal worth. They also become historical subjects in the liberating history of the kingdom of God, part of the history of Israel and Jesus Christ: v.29, 'And if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise.' Read from the context and social reality of John the Commonweal and the Poor Man, wanting their warm claes because of poverty in a cold climate, such passages take on a new and liberating meaning. To be clothed in Christ is to be clothed in the new humanity of the homeless baby who wore swaddling clothes in a byre, worshipped by outcast shepherds and foreigners, and was stripped naked between thieves while the soldiers of the empire gambled for his clothes. In this hermeneutic, salvation gars Jesus the Commonweal want his warm claes, that the naked might be clothed and non-persons put on a new humanity.

## Commonweal as the Discourse of Patriotism and Justice

The notion of the 'common weal' is, therefore, a spur to the paradigm shift between identity and liberation paradigms and models of nationhood which is the argument of this thesis, embodied in the figure of John the Commonweal. It also serves as an intellectual bridge between the movement for reform in late medieval Catholic Scotland and the Protestant reformation movement of the 1550s that came to power, through English military intervention, in 1560. In its contemporary political context, the newly emergent idea of 'commonweal' was redolent of Scottish patriotism and freedom.

In an essay on 'Covenant and Commonweal: the language of politics in Reformation Scotland'83, Roger Mason has traced the use of the term 'commonweal' in mid-sixteenth century Scottish political and religious discourse. He shows how the Protestant Congregation which rebelled against the rule of the Regent, Mary of Guise, in the late 1550s, began by using the religious discourse of covenant to express the reasons for their action, influenced by John Knox. That discourse suffered from its own internal contradictions and had a limited appeal, argues Mason, and so they availed themselves increasingly of the relatively new Scottish political term of 'commonweal':

The term 'commonweal' was, in fact, a comparatively recent accession to the Scottish political vocabulary and had only begun to feature

prominently in public discourse in the decades after 1520. It had, however, rapidly acquired connotations of profound and lasting resonance. Without ever losing its primary, but unremarkable, meaning of the public or universal good, it had soon become endowed with a strongly patriotic inflection. Not least among the reasons for this was the fact that it was frequently used in conjunction with the vocabulary of freedom in which the late medieval political community had so resoundingly protested its political autonomy. One need hardly dwell on the immense rhetorical power with which John Barbour and many other medieval writers had charged the Latin term libertas and its vernacular equivalents 'liberty' and 'freedom' - their impassioned pleas on behalf of an independent Scotland, free of the threat of English thralldom, are too well-known to require repetition. It is sufficient here to point out that by the late 1530s the 'commonweal' had already become closely associated with this highly emotive vocabulary. In his version of the History and Chronicles of Scotland, for example, John Bellenden wrote of how Robert the Bruce had such respect for 'the commoun weill and liberte of Scotland'.... within a few years this suggestive coupling of the 'commonweal' with 'freedom' and 'liberty' was not confined to the literary world, but had entered the realm of workaday political discourse. In the 1540s, for example, the phrase 'the commonweal and liberty of this realm' was used almost as a refrain by those such as David Beaton who led the opposition to a marriage alliance with England. Furthermore, by the end of that decade, 'the commonweal' by itself was being employed in a manner which set off all the emotive resonances which in the Middle Ages had been triggered by the clarion-cry of 'freedom'.<sup>84</sup>

Mason argues that although the term 'commonweal' was so strongly associated with the idea of freedom, it had other connotations in sixteenth century Scotland. In particular, it was linked to the practice of kingship. According to the prevailing views of kingship at the time, one of the two main functions of kings was to defend the nation from foreign attack, 'in Scottish

parlance, the maintenance of freedom'.<sup>85</sup> Sir David Lyndsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis highlights this relationship between commonweal and kingship and especially the other main function of kingship and meaning of commonweal:

In his Satyre, however, Lyndsay was concerned with the second function attributed to contemporary monarchs - the administration of justice - and this too he brought into close association with the commonweal. He did do, moreover, in a manner as graphic as it is effective. For in the Satyre it is none other than John the Common Weill who, tattered and destitute as a result of royal negligence, confronts corrupt King Humanitie and begs him to renounce his vicious ways, take Gude Counsell back into his favour, and rule with justice for the common good of all. According to Lyndsay, in other words, the commonweal of the realm, the well being and prosperity of the community, depends on the virtuous exercise of kingship.<sup>86</sup>

In saying this, Lyndsay was expressing the conventional medieval understanding of kingship, in its two-fold task of defending the realm and administering justice, but he was associating it powerfully in the Scottish imagination with the meaning of the term commonweal and the current plight of the nation. It is not surprising then, Mason argues, that the Protestant Congregation began to use the discourse of commonweal to argue its case against the Regent Mary of Guise and the French occupying troops she brought to Scotland, describing her as an 'enemy to our commonweal' and themselves as its 'favourers'.<sup>87</sup> In this way the notion of commonweal as freedom and justice for the nation became a bridging concept between the late medieval world of Catholic reform and the early

Protestant reform movement, and between the Catholic and Reformed models of the Christian nation of Scotland.

More than that, however, we find in Sir David Lyndsay's *Divine Correction* and John the Commonweal the emergent idea, not held by the religious and political power structures of late medieval Scotland, that justice for the poor and oppressed, their liberation from oppression, is of the essence of a biblical Christian approach to Scotland and its government. Here, arising out of a real social context of conflict over John the Commonweal's lack of 'warm claes' and the Poor Man's poverty, we find a notion of commonweal that resonates with the meaning of liberation and justice. This is a very different Christian notion of nationhood from the one put forward by the Catholic model of identity, the freedom of a sovereign and free nation. The heraldic ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral sought to enhance the position of the Scottish king and nation as sovereign and free within Christendom. Lyndsay's play calls that Scottish king and nation to account, through the mouth of a prophet, *Divine Correction*, and a poor man, John the Commonweal, for the lack of concrete freedom for the ordinary mass of Scottish people. John Barbour, who penned the magnificent lines in praise of freedom quoted above, and gave literary form to Scottish identity and pre-modern Scottish nationalism in his poem *The Bruce*, was also, as Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the part-owner of

serfs on the church lands.<sup>88</sup> In Lyndsay's Satyre it is the voice of the serfs who cry for their freedom. This represents a profound paradigmatic shift from a contextual theology of identity, however noble, to a contextual theology of liberation, however inchoate.

Lyndsay was a courtier and he was writing a work of satire for the royal court. As Mason has pointed out, he was writing within the familiar terms of conventional medieval political thought. He was not challenging the dogmas or existence of the Catholic church, only calling for reform of its abuses. But in the text of the play we find John the Commonweal, a devout 'Christian man' and a poor man from among the oppressed common people calling for just kingship and an end to oppression, through a reformed and reforming church and parliament. The image of Scotland as a free nation, developed by the Catholic model from the Wars of Independence onwards, associated freedom with a defence of the nation against the external threat of English attack and the material, cultural, intellectual and religious enhancement of Scotland's sense of national identity as an independent and sovereign nation within Christendom. This is Scotland as the 'imagined political community that is sovereign and limited', to use Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation adopted in chapter 1 and used throughout this thesis. But John the Commonweal raises another way of imagining Scotland, in terms of the social conflict



within its own borders. When Divine Correction set out to bring good order to the nation of Scotland, John replies:

I pray yow, Sir, begin first at [thel] Border,  
For how can we fend us aganis Ingland  
Quhen we can noch within our native land  
Destroy our awin Scots common trator theifis,  
Quha to leill laborers daylie dois mischeifis?  
War I ane King, be God[i]s wounds,  
Quha ever held common theifis within thair bounds  
Quhairthrow that dayly leilem micht be wrangit  
Without remeid thair chiftanis suld be hangit:  
Quhiddel he war ane knicht, ane lord or laird,  
The Devil draw me to hell and he war spaird!89

The image of a free nation defending its borders against an English aggressor is here turned on its head. John redefines the commonweal of the nation in terms of a social justice within its own borders, that will not stop short at judging the holders of power in Scottish society, 'knicht, lord or laird', who are the named perpetrators of this oppression against the common people. And, as Lyall has pointed out, for the Satyre, the religious and moral liberation of the nation is an essential and primary dimension in the reforming dialectic that leads to its social and political liberation from internal oppression. Divine Correction with Bible in hand enables the voice of the poor to be heard and is the agent of a reforming praxis.

If the term commonweal took on the resonances of the medieval Scottish love of freedom, then it can be argued that the 'warm claes' practical theology of

commonweal, with its connotations of social justice and liberation from oppression, found implicitly within the Satyre, resonates with many of the insights of contemporary liberation theology.

Just as liberation theology arose out of the ethical indignation felt over the experience of oppression and poverty faced by the majority of the inhabitants of Latin America<sup>90</sup>, so John the Commonweal articulates that ethical indignation at the plight of the poor and oppressed within Scotland, suffering because of the neglect and exploitation of their own king, church and ruling estates of the realm. And just as the base Christian communities central to the praxis of liberation theology and ecclesiology have rediscovered a new hermeneutic of the Bible, as the book of a liberated people to be read and understood by the poor out of reflection on their own experience of oppression and liberating praxis<sup>91</sup>, so Divine Correction sees in the preaching and interpretation of the Bible, to and by the people, the key to a reforming praxis in the church which the unreformed Kirk rejects:

SPIRITUALITIE

Freind, quhair find ye that we suld prechours be?

GUDE COUNSALL

Luke quhat Sanct Paul wryts unto Timothie.

Tak thair the Buik; let se gif ye can spell!

SPIRITUALITIE

I never red that; thairfoir reid it your sell!

Gude Counsall sall read thir wordis on ane buik...

SPIRITUALITIE

Ye temporall men, be Him that heryit Hell,

Ye are ovir peart (bold) with sik maters to mell.

#### TEMPORALITIE

Sit, still, my Lord, ye neid not for til braull;  
Thir ar the verie words of the 'Apostill Paull.92

When Spirituality proudly claims that he has never read the Old or New Testaments, it is significantly the merchant and the pauper who relate the biblical illiteracy of the priests and their inability to preach God's Word, to their economic exploitation of the country's wealth.<sup>93</sup> Here in the Satyre, Paul's letter to Timothy, and its teaching on the qualifications for the office of bishop (I Timothy 3:1-3), are interpreted in the context of their present struggles against church corruption and social injustice and lead to a call for a new liberating praxis: As the Merchant states, 'Ye say to the Appostils that ye succeid, Bot ye schaw nocht that into word or deid. The law is plaine: our teinds suld furnisch teichours.'<sup>94</sup> There are broad parallels here with the hermeneutical concern of liberation theology in reading the Bible. As Duncan Forrester has described it:

Liberation theology thus addresses rather different questions to the Bible from those of academic biblical scholarship. It asks what there is in the Bible story to which we may relate; how we may dovetail our story and the story of our people with the Bible story of the People of God; what there is in Scripture that we may appropriate and use in today's struggles.'<sup>95</sup>

It is exactly that process of dovetailing the story of the people of God in the Bible with their own story and their own contemporary struggles in Scotland that we

see in the Satyre. What is not being claimed in this comparison is that there was here a proto-liberation theology fully developed in theory and operating in practice in late medieval Scotland. There is no evidence or suggestion of that, and no argument for that here. What we do find is a key text of this period articulating another way of imagining Scotland, in the liberating terms of the gospel and in the context of social conflict over injustice. This is an emergent idea that did not, at this period in Scottish history, find expression in the social movements or structures of power in Scottish society. It was an idea trapped not only in the unjust social structures it condemned. It was also captive within the Christian nation paradigm and its dominant ideas of identification with the state and power structures of society, as the guarantors of that Christian national identity. For such an idea to take centre stage in society, as John the Commonweal did in the Satyre, and reform the life of the nation of Scotland, would require a paradigm shift in church and nation, as we shall consider finally in chapter 5.

The Catholic model's way of imagining Scotland as a free and sovereign nation depended on a close identification between the Catholic Kirk and the nation. It relied on the cultivation of a strong national identity on the part of that Kirk. The original vision expressed in the Declaration of Arbroath and in Barbour's

poem, 'The Bruce', was fired by a high sense of moral and spiritual purpose. There was no uncritical alliance with the nation and its leaders, right or wrong. The Declaration stated boldly that if even Robert the Bruce himself betrayed the cause of freedom, he would be deposed and a more faithful king put in his place. Barbour's poem recognised that patriotism was a virtue only when united with the cause of freedom and justice. But that critical and prophetic note was lost to the Catholic model of the Christian nation when the church became more and more enmeshed in the structures of power and wealth in Scotland as an inevitable consequence of its policy of national identification. The free nation of the original paradigm became the corrupt nation of the Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis. Yet out of the old Catholic model of a free nation, the Reformed model of a godly nation was born. As that model was developed and established, the paradigmatic tradition of a triumphant Christian nation found new historical exemplars to enable it to adapt to the exigencies of Scottish history from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. As Barrow has pointed out, the idea of Scotland as a free nation did not die with the Protestant reformation of 1560:

This use of the expression "a free country" to mean an independant or sovereign country has respectable ancestry. In 1560, the nobles of Scotland wrote to Queen Elizabeth of England: "Our histories and experience of all ages teach us that fortresses have never preserved this realm from invasion, yea the chief cause that we have so long continued a free kingdom has been the lack of them, an enemy finding no place to plant himself."<sup>96</sup>

It was to remain a dominant idea within the new Reformed model of Scottish nationhood, which itself remained firmly within the Christian nation paradigmatic tradition of 1320 and after.

### Residual Ideas and a Contemporary Crisis of Praxis

The dominant ideas generated within this identity paradigm and Catholic model of a Christian and free nation were to survive the Reformation and its re-definition of the nation in its new Protestant sense. The idea of an integrated Christian society, the corpus Christianum, was not abandoned although it was adapted to the contested boundaries of a Protestant Christendom and a Protestant Scotland within a Protestant British Isles. Even in the more secular era of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this was an idea that was not altogether abandoned although it increasingly functioned as the residual notion of a Christian society that did not reflect the reality and norms of the prevailing social and political structures.

The idea of the Scots as God's chosen people was to play an even more dominant role in the Reformed model of Scotland's Christian nationhood than it had ever done in the Catholic model, as Scotland was conceived as a godly and covenant nation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>97</sup> The political idea of the Scottish nation and its accompanying political nationalism, that were so

much a feature of the birth of the Christendom paradigm and its Catholic model in the Wars of Independence, had a much more problematic existence in the Reformed and secularized presbyterian models, where British unionism offered an alternative set of national loyalties.<sup>98</sup> But what the Reformed and secular presbyterian models did continue was the idea that the Christian church should retain a strong identification with the state, as a national church, and thus maintain the political and constitutional fabric of Scotland as a Christian nation.<sup>99</sup>

The Catholic model of the free nation furnished Scotland with a set of historic exemplars and symbols of its nationhood, from Wallace, Bruce and Bannockburn to the Declaration of Arbroath and the saltire flag and patron sainthood of Andrew, that have undergirded its sense of national identity down to the present. It will be argued that only with the decline of that secular presbyterian model of Scotland as a Christian nation in the Protestant sense has there been a parallel resurgence of political nationalism in the second half of the twentieth century. However, both the secular presbyterian model and the modern nationalist movement have mobilised many of images and exemplars of the Catholic model in furthering their own imagined community of Scottish nationhood. The question is whether the national images and pre-modern nationalism of the

Catholic model can furnish a way of imagining the nation today that is theologically consonant with a liberating understanding of the gospel or sociologically plausible in a radically different and changing Scottish society.

Finally, the idea that the interests and identity of the Scottish nation should be interpreted theologically, in biblical and Christian religious and moral terms, and christologically, in the image of Christ the King, first found in the Catholic model, has given rise to a contextual theology of identity that has proved remarkably resilient over seven centuries in shaping the Christian understanding of the Scottish nation. Within this theological paradigm, it has been the Church's task to uphold the Christian identity of the nation, variously conceived, under the kingship of Christ as lord of the nations. As the Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland express this christology of nationhood, the Church of Scotland 'maintains its historic testimony to the duty of the nation acting in its corporate capacity to render homage to God, to acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ to be King over the nations, to obey His laws, to reverence His ordinances, to honour His Church, and to promote in all appropriate ways the Kingdom of God.'<sup>100</sup> Again, this once dominant idea must now be considered a residual one to the extent that a large proportion of the population in contemporary Scotland would not easily or readily interpret their



sense of national identity in these biblical or christological terms. And yet the christology of Christ the King remains powerful in the Scottish Christian imagination, both positively in a confessional affirmation of the lordship of Jesus Christ over the whole of life, and the life of the nations; and negatively, inasmuch as it may nurture a social illusion and ecumenical presumption that the Church of Scotland is the recognised and representative upholder of that kingship today, as the national church in the life of the nation. This is an issue that will be considered in depth in chapters 5.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, those emerging ideas of social justice for the poor and oppressed, the germinal ideas of a 'warm claes' theology of commonweal, that can be found in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, may yet prove the Catholic model's most constructive contemporary legacy in developing a contextual theology and paradigm of liberation. John the Commonweal may yet be understood as the literary exemplar of a true and original Scottish Catholic theology of liberation. He speaks as a Christian man of the people, voicing their real suffering and oppression and interpreting the true meaning of historical events in mid-sixteenth century Scotland, torn as the country was by calls for church and national reforms. He and Divine Correction reflect on that crisis

of Christian praxis in a corrupt and oppressive nation in the light of the Word, Gutierrez's definition of theology.<sup>101</sup> More than that, John the Commonweal fits Gustavo Gutierrez's description of a theologian's prophetic task as this poor Christian man calls for a new and liberating Christian praxis, albeit as a literary figure given voice by a reforming Catholic layman:

... theology thus understood, that is to say as linked to praxis, fulfills a prophetic function insofar as it interprets historical events with the intention of revealing and proclaiming their profound meaning.... But if theology is based on this observation of historical events and contributes to the discovery of their meaning, it is with the purpose of making the Christians' commitment within them more radical and clear. Only with the exercise of the prophetic function understood in this way will the theologian be - to borrow an expression from Antonio Gramsci - a new kind of "organic intellectual." He will be someone personally and vitally engaged in historical realities with specific times and places. He will be engaged where nations, social classes, people struggle to free themselves from domination and oppression by other nations, classes and people. In the last analysis, the true interpretation of the meaning revealed by theology is achieved only in historical praxis.... We have here a political hermeneutics of the Gospel.<sup>102</sup>

And we have here, in Lindsay's warm claes theology of commonweal, an emergent political hermeneutic of the liberating gospel in the context of Scottish nationhood. John the Commonweal is a prophetic figure engaged with the struggle of the poor to free themselves from domination and oppression by their own rulers, within the borders of the imagined community and social reality of the Scottish nation. He is someone 'personally and vitally engaged in historical realities with specific

times and places.' Here we have the possibility of a different Christian paradigm of Scottish nationhood.

But that paradigm - of Christian liberation rather than of Christian identity for the nation - was not to emerge fully into theological and practical dominance at the Protestant reformation, as the Catholic model of a free nation gave way gradually to the Reformed model of a godly nation. Both remained firmly within the paradigmatic tradition of the Christian nation, although, as we shall now consider, the Reformed model of Christian national identity was quick to produce its own distinctive and different historical exemplars, as well as its own minority tradition of prophetic imagination and liberation for the poor in Christ.

John the Commonweal remains as a subversive and troubling memory of a different Christian way of imagining Scottish nationhood. He is a literary and theological brother, across cultures and centuries, of the sacristan in Jose Maria Arguedas' novel Todas las sangres, quoted by the Latin American liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez. Gutierrez writes, in A Theology of Liberation:

To know Yahweh, which in Biblical language is equivalent to saying to love Yahweh, is to establish just relations among men, it is to recognise the rights of the poor. The God of Biblical revelation is known through interhuman justice. When justice does not exist, God is not known; he is absent. "God is everywhere," says

the priest to the sacristan in Jose Maria Arguedas's novel Todas las sangres. And the sacristan, who knows no metaphysics, but is well acquainted with injustice and oppression, replies with accurate Biblical intuition: "Was God in the heart of those who broke the body of the innocent teacher Bellido? Is God in the bodies of the engineers who are killing 'Las Esmeralda'? In the official who took the corn fields away from their owners ... ?"103

Or, as John the Commonweal said to Divine Correction, speaking of the corrupt 'body-breakers, engineers and officials' of his own time, the three estates of Scotland: 'My souveraine Lord Correctioun, I mak yow supplicatioun, Put thir tryit truikers [rogues] from Christis congregatioun!"104 History, as the Protestant reformers saw it, was about to do so. That it did not, and has not yet done so, gars John the Commonweal still want his warm claes in contemporary Scotland.

### Notes

1. Robert Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies, p.40.
2. On the modern decline of the Church of Scotland, see Peter Bisset, The Kirk and Her Scotland (Edinburgh: Handsel Press with British Church Growth Association, 1986), for a statistical study of church growth and decline, 1945-85; and Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730 (London: Methuen, 1987), pp.209-256, for an historical account of decline since 1918. Robin Gill offers insightful sociological analysis and theological reflections on church decline in Britain, in Beyond Decline: A Challenge to the Churches (London: SCM Press, 1988).
3. It has already been argued above, in ch. 1, pp. 9-12, that Christianity was integral to the formation of the Kingdom of the Scots in the period from 850-1050. What is distinctive about the period of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is the development of an identifiable form of pre-modern nationalism, asserting the rights of the nation, out of this earlier forging of

a sense of national consciousness and identity from among several ethnic and tribal identities and loyalties.

4. Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Revival in the Modern World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.85, 'Nations are closely related to ethnic communities, often "growing out" of the latter, or being "constructed" from ethnic materials.'

5. Edward J. Cowan, 'Myth and Identity in Early Medieval Scotland', The Scottish Historical Review Vol. LXIII, 2:No 176 (October 1984), p.135. In particular, note the function of the cults of St Columba and especially St Andrew in forging a sense of proto-national identity, pp.126-129, and the key role of an autonomous Scottish church in helping to create that sense of Scottish identity, p.129: 'It has long been noted that the battle for independence was fought and won in the ecclesiastical sphere long before the wars of independence began.... By the last quarter of the twelfth century the existence of the Scotticana ecclesia was recognised. An identity had been conferred upon at least one section of the Scottish community.' Although it should be noted that the Christian identity of the Scots was brought into question by their English enemies. When the Norman Scots' king David I led a Scots army against his fellow Norman English, at the battle of the Standard in 1138, Cowan cites a chronicler's address to the English army: 'Why should we despair of victory when victory has been given to our race (geni nostro) as if in fee by the most High? Who would not laugh rather than fear when to fight against such men (as us) runs the worthless Scot with half-bare buttocks? The Scots are preceded by actors, dancers and dancing girls; we by the Cross of Christ and relics of the saints.' Cowan notes that all commentators were astonished by 'the ethnic diversity of David's army.... David appeared to head a pan-ethnic alliance which could be defined only in terms of his personal sovereignty. Were such a phenomenon detected at any later date it would be described as a nation.' It was the devout David I, the 'sair sanct' to the crown who had such a marked impact on the religious and ecclesiastical life of Scotland. It was his father Macolm Canmore, married to the saintly Margaret, who symbolized the ethnic diversity of the kingdom, according to Cowan, and yet, 'Nothing did more to shape and mould Scottish identity than the kingship.' Clearly, by this stage a Christian kingship was endowing the kingdom of Scots with the Christian symbols and institutions that would be central to the formation of Christian nationhood in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

6. For an English translation of this Latin document, entitled '1320 Letter of Barons of Scotland to Pope John XXII', see Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical

Documents (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), pp.55-8; for a commentary on the text, and another translation, see A. A. M. Duncan, The Nation of Scotland and the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) Pamphlet General Series no.75 (London: The Historical Association, 1970).

7. George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory (London: Harrap, 1963), pp.225-6, and see also pp.187-96, 224-37; see Walter Ullmann, Medieval Political Thought (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), pp.19-44, for the Roman and biblical background to the development of the idea of Christendom, and the doctrine of the two swords. Commenting on the problem of ultimate authority in that doctrine of the two authorities in Christendom, the pope's spiritual authority and the emperor's secular authority, Ullmann notes this conception of Christendom as one indivisible body, p.41: '... who, pope or emperor, gave the final and authoritative decision in matters vitally affecting the fabric of one and the same body? There were not two bodies, one a Church, the other a State, but one only, which the emperor viewed as the Christian Roman empire, and the pope as the Roman Christian Church.'; on the seminal event of the conversion of Constantine, and the early development of the Christian empire, see Henry Chadwick, The Early Church (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), pp.125-73: as Chadwick states, p.25, 'The conversion of Constantine marks a turning point in the history of the Church and of Europe. It meant much more than the end of persecution. The sovereign autocrat was inevitably and immediately involved in the development of the church, and conversely the Church became more and more implicated in high political decisions.'; and also A. H. M. Jones., Constantine and the Conversion of Europe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972). For a liberation theology perspective on the meaning and development of the 'Christendom' concept, see Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (London: SCM Press, 1974), pp.256-8.

8. Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, p.58.

9. G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Scottish Clergy in the War of Independence', The Scottish Historical Review Vol. XLI, No. 132 (April 1962), pp.1-22.

10. Ibid., p.3.

11. Ibid., p.20.

12. Ibid., p.21.

13. Ibid., p.22.

14. James Kellas, The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity (London: Macmillan, 1991), p.25.



15. Ibid., p.26.
16. Gordon Donaldson, Scotland: Church and Nation through Sixteen Centuries (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1972), p.84.
17. J. K. Reid, in his 1960 book, Church and Nation, p.173, quoted by Peter Bisset, The Kirk and Her Scotland, p.5.
18. See ch.1, pp.17-20.
19. Kellas, p.23.
20. G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', The Innes Review Vol. XXX (1979), p.27.
21. G. W. S. Barrow, Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), p.430.
22. Ibid., p.xiii.
23. Ibid., p.xiv,xv.
24. Ibid., p.xv.
25. Ibid., p.xiii.
26. Ibid.
27. G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Scottish Clergy in the War of Independence', p.22.
28. See A. Taylor Innes, The Law of Creeds in Scotland (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1902).
29. See Jock Stein (ed.) Scottish Self-Government: Some Christian Viewpoints (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1989); and Lindsay Paterson, 'Ane End of Ane Auld Sang: Sovereignty and the Re-Negotiation of the Union', The Scottish Government Yearbook (1991), pp.104-22.
30. This and subsequent quotations from the Declaration of Arbroath in this section of chapter 2 are taken from the translation to be found in Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, pp.55-58.
31. For a theological critique of such 'monarchical monotheism' and kingship imagery in christology, see Jurgen Moltmann, The Trinity and the Kingdom of God (London: SCM Press, 1981), pp.191-202; and David

Nicholls, Deity and Domination (London: Routledge, 1989).

32. For a discussion of this tendency in Old Testament literature and religion, see Walter Brueggemann, The Prophetic Imagination (London: SCM Press, 1978); and his essay, 'Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel', in Norman K. Gottwald (ed.), The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics (New York: Orbis, 1983).

33. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', pp.28-30.

34. Ibid., p.30.

35. Ibid., p.31.

36. Ibid., p.18.

37. Chapter 1, pp.31-8.

38. See David Stevenson, The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1988), pp.59-69; and J. D. Douglas Light in the North: The Story of the Scottish Covenanters (Exeter: Paternoster, 1964), pp.140-67.

39. Neal Ascherson, 'Scottish Contradictions', in his book of collected writings, Games With Shadows (London: Century Hutchinson, 1988), pp.63-68: pp.63, 68, 'I would argue that there remains one, and only one contradiction in Scottish society which is fundamental. This is the old contradiction between self-assertion and self-distrust.... The Scottish version of history seems to oscillate between extolling the virtues of passive suffering and glorifying moments of volcanic, almost involuntary violence. Where are the episodes in which the Scottish people, by holding together and labouring patiently and wisely, achieved something?' While the Wars of Independence represent one such episode, the demiurgic discourse of the Declaration, 'as long as one hundred of us remain alive', helped sow the seed of Ascherson's contradiction in the paradigm of a Christian nation and its influence on the Scottish identity - the theology of all or nothing, rather than of God's sufficient grace in small things and common labours.

40. Editions of the poem can be found in, John Barbour, The Bruce, ed. W. W. Skeat, Scottish Text Society, 2 vols., 1894; and John Barbour, The Bruce, ed. W. M. Mackenzie (London, 1909).

41. See Introduction, p.1.



42. Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1978).
43. Ibid., p.14.
44. Ibid., pp.14-5.
45. Tom Scott (ed.), The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), p.60.
46. Wittig, p.17.
47. Ibid., p.18.
48. David McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', The Innes Review Vol. 19 (1968), pp.3-14.
49. Ibid., p.3.
50. In this the medieval Catholic model fits into H. Richard Niebuhr's typology of the relationship between Christianity and human culture, in his seminal work Christ and Culture (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1951). One of the five ideal types that Niebuhr establishes is that where Christ is seen to identify with a culture. This process of identification between Christ and culture/nation is a dominant feature of the Catholic model.
51. McRoberts, p.5.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p.8.
55. Ibid., p.9. McRoberts, in arguing that this trend of interest in and emphasis on national saints was widespread in the fifteenth century, especially the second half of it, cites several examples, including the strong emphasis to be found in the Scotichronicon on Inchcolm, as a centre of devotion to St Columba; the efforts by James Haldenstone, prior of St Andrews, to put the cult of St Andrew at the centre of the restoration of St Andrews cathedral, as well as his request for the canonization of the northern saint Duthac of Tain; and the reviving of the cults of St Mungo at Glasgow Cathedral and St Ninian at Whithorn.
56. Ibid., p.11.
57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., p.12. McRoberts states that, 'The enthusiasm for national independence seems to have found considerable support, in the fifteenth century, among the religious orders established in Scotland.' He cites the examples of the older Scottish Greyfriars, the Conventual Franciscans, the Scottish Blackfriars of the Dominican order and the Scottish Premonstratensians all establishing their own separate Scottish provinces or circary during the course of the century.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., p.13.

62. Ibid.

63. For a full account of the nationalist meaning and significance of the heraldic ceiling, see David McRoberts, The Heraldic Ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral Aberdeen, Friends of St Machar's Cathedral, Occasional Paper No 2 (Aberdeen, 1981): p.3,4, 'The person who designed the ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral set out to educate the citizens of Aberdeen, and the theme of his instruction was unusual in a medieval church. What he in fact has given us is a comprehensive, illustrated lecture on the contemporary politics of Christendom about the year 1520 - a lecture given with a strong bias in favour of the Scottish nation.... The ceiling depicts a real practical and everyday world and, because it depicts a real world situation, the Aberdeen ceiling betrays a strong interest in nationalist sentiment. This is simply a reflection of reality because the growth of nationalist sentiment and the emergence of independent nation-states was the really significant political development of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.'

64. David McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', p.14.

65. Ibid.

66. Gordon Donalson, Scottish Historical Documents, p.57.

67. Roderick Lyall (ed.), Sir David Lyndsay, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1989).

68. Ibid., p.xxvi.

69. Gustavo Gutierrez, quoted in Rosino Gibellini. The Liberation Theology Debate (London:SCM Press, 1987), pp.13-4.

70. Ibid., p.14.

71. Ibid., p.18.

72. Ibid.

73. Lyall (ed.), Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis, p.89, ll.2446-7.

74. Ibid., pp.96-7, ll.2653-2673.

75. Ibid., p.109, ll.3022-3034.

76. Ibid, pp.109-10, ll.3042-3.

77. Ibid., Introduction by Roderick Lyall, p.xxix.

78. Kurt Wittig, p.97.

79. Ibid., p.99.

80. See separate articles on cold and clothing in Colin Brown (ed.), The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (Exeter: Paternoster, 1975) Vol. 1.

81. See Juan Luis Segundo, The Liberation of Theology (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977), ch.1, 'The Hermeneutical Circle', pp.7-38: p.8: 'Here is a preliminary definition of the hermeneutical circle: it is the continuing change in our interpretation of the Bible which is dictated by the continuing changes in our present-day reality, both individual and societal ... the circular nature of this interpretation stems from the fact that each new reality obliges us to interpret the word of God afresh, to change reality accordingly, and then to go back and reinterpret the word of God again, and so on.' For a fuller study of liberation theology's approach to biblical hermeneutics, in a British and First World context, see Christopher Rowland, Mark Corner, Liberating Exegesis: The Challenge of Liberation Theology to Biblical Studies (London: SPCK, 1990).

82. Walter Brueggemann, The Prophetic Imagination (London: SCM Press, 1978), pp.30-43: p.34, 'The economics of affluence and the politics of oppression are the most characteristic marks of the Solomonic achievement.'

83. Roger Mason, 'Covenant and Commonweal: the Language of Politics in Reformation Scotland', in Norman Macdougall (ed.), Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), pp.97-126.

84. Ibid, p.108.

85. Ibid., p.109.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., p.110.
88. G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', pp.16-77, where Barrow is aware of this point, 'The use of the expression "a free country" to mean an independent and sovereign country has a respectable ancestry. In 1560, the nobles of Scotland wrote to Queen Elizabeth of England: "our histories and experience of all ages teach us that fortresses have never preserved this realm from invasion, yea the chief cause that we have so long continued a free kingdom has been the lack of them, an enemy finding no place to plant himself." In a much too kindly review of my book on Robert the Bruce, Professor John Le Patourel lodged the following mild complaint: "the national sentiment that informs so much of his book has a curiously old-fashioned air. 'Liberty' is equated with national independence." I shall hope to show that I was at any rate not being anachronistic, for the Scots of the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, no less than their descendants of 1560, undoubtedly understood "liberty" in this sense. But Professor Latourel obviously has a point, and his comment echoes a remark thrown off by the late George Coulton. Coulton was writing of the Church's reluctance to put an end to, or even ameliorate serfdom. "No passage", he writes, "of Barbour's Bruce is so well known as that which begins
- "Ah, Freedom is a noble thing!"
- Yet Barbour himself, as Archdeacon of Aberdeen, was in part a serf-owner and a dealer in serfs. He and his fellow canons farmed out one of their estates; the lease, which is still extant, runs to the effect that they let the land "with its hawkings, huntings and fishing; with its serfs and their broods." "' Barrow suggests that 'serfs' has more of a modern sense of 'sitting tenants' but he would not quibble with Coulton. The thirteenth- and fourteenth century Scottish baronies, 'whether held by laymen or ecclesiastics, had peasant tenants who were not free men', holding no free tenure and at least theoretically bound to the estate of their birth and service of their feudal overlord.
89. Lyall (ed.), p.94, ll.2587-97.
90. Robert Gibellini, p.4, quoting the leading liberation theologian Leonardo Boff, that the theology of liberation arose out 'of an ethical indignation at the poverty and marginalization of the great masses of our continent'; in Latin America, and in every context of oppression.

91. See Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (London: SCM Press, 1974), p.x., 'The Bible presents liberation - salvation - in Christ as the total gift, which, by taking on the levels we indicate, gives the whole process of liberation its deepest meaning and its complete and unforeseeable fulfillment.', and, p.13, where theology is described as 'a critical reflection on Christian praxis in the light of the Word': and Juan Luis Segundo, The Liberation of Theology, ch.1, 'The Hermeneutical Circle', esp. pp.7-9; also Duncan B. Forrester, Theology and Politics, ch.1, 'The Bible and Political Theology', pp.83-105.

92. Lyall (ed.), p.105, ll. 2912-28.

93. Ibid., pp.106-7, ll.2941-64.

94. Ibid., p.106, ll.2947-9.

95. Forrester, Theology and Politics, p.104.

96. G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Idea of Freedom in Late Medieval Scotland', p.16.

97. See David Stevenson, The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland, pp.1-22, 35-44; John Morrill (ed.), The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp.31-89.

98. See Arthur H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), although calls for a British union pre-date the reformation of 1560, see pp.97-116 and the writings of John Major on the arguments for an Anglo-Scottish union; Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', in John Dyer, Roger A. Mason, Alexander Murdoch (eds.), New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, n.d.), pp.34-58.

99. On the centrality of church-state relations for the Reformed church in Scotland, its identity as the national church, and its sense of Scottish nationhood, from 1560 to 1929, and the present, see Andrew Herron, Kirk by Divine Right: Church and State in Peaceful Co-existence (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1985); Taylor Innes, The Law of Creeds in Scotland, noted above; Francis Lyall, Of Presbyters and Kings: Church and State in the Law of Scotland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1980); Rolf Sjolinder, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1907-1921: Its Background and Development (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1962).

100. D. F. M. Macdonald (ed.), Cox, Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland 6th Edn (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1976), p.472.

101. Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p.13.

102. Ibid.

103. Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, p.195.

104. Lyall (ed.), Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis , p.90, ll.2472-3.

The Reformed Model of a Christian Nation

1560 marks both a dramatic break and a point of continuity in the history of the relationship between Christianity and national identity in Scotland. The Protestant reform movement in church and nation that came to power in that year is inseparable from two influences, the continuing legacy and geo-politics of Christendom, and the Reformed tradition associated with John Calvin and his Scottish follower John Knox. In the Reformed or Calvinist approach to church and nation associated with Knox and his successors, we can find the same key features of the Christian nation paradigm of Scotland that had taken coherent form from the early fourteenth century. And yet a new Christian model of Scottish nationhood can be discerned emerging out of the reformation period, replacing some of the dominant ideas in the old Catholic model with its own distinctive 'images of communion' for Scottish national identity, and so developing the paradigmatic tradition.

1. A Christendom Model

First, the Reformed model continued to operate in terms of the medieval synthesis of church and society going back to the Roman emperor Constantine, where society was seen as the 'corpus Christianum', within which church and state formed the one inclusive Christian



community of Christendom. The reformers did not throw out that Constantinian offspring with the bathwater of what they saw as religious corruption. As Richard Greaves has noted, in his study of the thought of John Knox:

The medieval world view, which envisaged church and state co-existing harmoniously in an integrated commonwealth under God, was embraced by the major Protestant traditions, though not always expressed in the same manner. In keeping with the relationship he saw in the Pentateuch between Moses and Aaron, Knox believed church and state could and should work together. Both were subject to divine Law and, ideally, magistrates were loyal members of the church, sharing its goals and applying its precepts in their governing work. Despite the doctrine of predestination, Knox, like Richard Hooker, tended to view church and state as comprising the same community. Thus the question of relations between the two involved no more than the relationship between two governing bodies ministering to the related needs of one commonwealth. For his vision of the ideal Christian commonwealth Knox did not look to Geneva but, like Bucer, to the Old Testament, and to a lesser degree to the recollection of the commonwealth ideal in the Epistle to the Ephesians (2:12).<sup>1</sup>

And so Knox could address Mary Queen of Scots in 1561 in the following way, 'I pray God, Madam, that ye may be as blessed within the Commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the Commonwealth of Israel.'<sup>2</sup> It was the distinctive contribution of Knox and the reformers to re-cast the Christendom perspective on Scottish nationhood in a biblical, and especially Old Testament light. While Old Testament characters and stories had been used in the medieval Catholic model (as we saw in chapter 2, with the references to the Maccabees, for example, in the



Declaration of Arbroath and Barbour's Bruce), they were given a new prominence and a far more formative and extensive use in the Reformed approach to imagining Scottish identity and nationhood within the terms of one Christian community.

It should also be noted that while the reformers rejected the authority of the papacy over Catholic Christendom, they did not abandon the vision of a Christian Europe and the prospect of a new reformed and Protestant Christendom, forming a Calvinist international. As we shall see below, in the work of the historian Arthur Williamson, the prospect of a new Protestant Constantine to lead the work of Protestant reformation throughout Europe, was a central interest and concern of reformers like John Knox, under the influence of English apocalyptic thinking. In the seventeenth century, the triumph of the Covenanting revolution in 1638 led some, like Archibald Johnston of Wariston, co-author of the National Covenant, to dream of re-fashioning Protestant Christendom according to the Scottish Reformed model:

Wariston had greeted the signing of the National Covenant as "the glorious marriage day of the Kingdome with God", but by the time of the Glasgow Assembly this insomniac who whispered his revolutionary dreams only to his Diary dared to think of extending "the royal prerogative of King Jesus ... through all the borders of the earth". By 1639 dream had become reality: the Scottish Church in its rediscovered perfection would be a "patterne for uther nations" to imitate; the Scottish apocalypse was first to be found in

England, but only as a step towards a greater Calvinist reformation "to be propagated from Island to Continent". The idea of a presbyterian international was born.<sup>3</sup>

Yet we can also detect a marked change in the Reformed model within that paradigmatic tradition of Christian nationhood. No longer would it operate principally through the identification of the church with the patriotic history and political independence of the nation. This process would be reversed in a new identification of the history and politics of the nation with the fate of the Kirk. With the Reformed model came a new emphasis on the preaching of the Word of God and national examples drawn from Israel's history, not from the earlier Scottish struggle for independence or Scottish traditions of saintly piety so central to the later medieval Catholic nationalist model. Although Knox clearly drew on certain Scottish traditions when they supported his Biblical approach to nationhood, particularly in the parallels between the old Scottish custom of banding together in a common cause and the religious concept of covenanting together with God, his model was primarily a theological and not a Scottish nationalist one.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. A Godly Nation under Christ the King

Secondly, the Knoxian Reformed model also embraced a high christology of Christ the King, Lord of the

nations. Yet it did so in a way that re-defined the spiritual purpose of national life. In the historical exemplar of the Declaration of Arbroath, Christ the King is seen as the guarantor of the nation's freedom. The Catholic model's defining image of Scotland's identity is that of a free nation, resonating with its historical experience of the Wars of Independence and the literary recreation of that experience in the patriotic works of writers like Barbour and Blind Harry. While the Reformed era is not short of references to the nation's liberty, its high christology led to the dominance of another unifying and motivating image in the national consciousness, the godly community. National godliness under Christ the King became a key a central and dominant idea in the Reformed model of Chistian nationhood.

As Knox wrote in his Letter to the Commonality of Scotland, calling on them to carry out the work of reformation in the face of idolatrous rulers, 'Of kings and judges it is required that they kiss the Son, that is, give honour, subjection, and obedience to him, and from such reverence the subject is not exempted.'<sup>5</sup> All are subject to the rule of Christ the King and Lord. Knox also adhered to another characteristic feature of the Christian nation paradigm - the conviction that the whole life of the nation should be shaped and governed by a single spiritual and moral purpose. For the fourteenth century Catholic model, that meant commitment to a free

nation and a patriotism grounded in that noble thing Barbour called freedom and loyalty to a universal sense of justice. For Knox, the model was of a godly commonwealth in which the whole people were to be subject to godliness in every aspect of life in church, state and society.

This Reformed model of the godly nation permeates one of Knox's letters to the Scottish Lords in which he reminds them that,

The fear of God resides also in the hearts of all those inspired by God, and who with reverence receive the counsel and admonitions given by God's messengers who are determined to obey his holy will, even though at times their message seems to surpass human power and understanding.... The wholesome counsel and admonition of God is given for the removal of iniquity, the reformation of temporal privileges, and conservation of realms and commonwealths. Princes and rulers of these institutions have, however, not understood this counsel and admonition, treating God's messengers disdainfully and with contempt. In order that society may be governed with Godly purpose, God appoints and sends to battle his best and most approved soldiers.<sup>6</sup>

Godly preachers of God's counsel and godly rulers governing according to God's laws were both needed in the new Scotland of the Reformed model. True to the Christian identity paradigm of Scottish nationhood, the whole life of the country was to be shot through with a moral and spiritual purpose but there was a new stress on godliness rather than freedom. This was a model of Scotland as a godly nation, under the lordship of Christ

the King. The reformers sought a national godliness achieved through effective church discipline. However, operating within the mental and social world of the corpus Christianum, with no practical (as opposed to theological) distinction between church and society, the pursuit of godliness was held in tension with the need for social cohesion. The Reformed model was of a godly nation and not a godly sect. Sectarian tendencies in the pursuit of godliness did manifest themselves in the Covenanting era, from 1638-88, especially during the rule of the radical presbyterian Covenanting regime, 1648-50: 'Radical policies were introduced designed to change the balance of power in society, while public offices, Parliament and the army were thoroughly purged to exclude all from power who did not measure up to strict standards of godliness.'<sup>7</sup> Yet, as Richard Greaves has noted, 'Knox and his colleagues sought to develop and maintain a holy society, but they were also concerned to do everything reasonable to keep the members of that society from being expelled'<sup>8</sup>, from the life of the godly nation. Their successors did not always show the same concern. The Reformed model proved highly schismatic in the pursuit of national godliness in church and state.

### 3. A Chosen Nation - Scottish or British?

Thirdly, the Reformed model also inherited the Christian nation paradigm's commitment to Scotland's identity as a chosen nation, undergirded by the political

alliance of church and state and a political theology of Scottish nationhood. Yet at the heart of this Reformed way of imagining Scotland there lay a profound ambivalence about the boundaries of Scotland's national identity as a 'sovereign and limited political community', in Benedict Anderson's definition of the nation, outlined in chapter 1. As a Protestant nation, did its future lie in political independence, as in the medieval Catholic model of a free nation, or did it lie with Protestant England in some form of greater British union? This question had already been raised in late medieval Scotland by John Mair, the distinguished scholastic theologian, against the prevailing current of national sentiment. The high tide of medieval intellectual nationalism came in 1527, when the first principal of the new university at Aberdeen, Hector Boece, published his history of Scotland, Scotorum Historiae, 'a quite remarkable work in which the Scottish national epos assumed its final and most extravagant form', according to Roger Mason:

... Boece's chronicle is an intensely conservative celebration of those virtues which he believed had ensured the freedom of the Scottish kingdom since its very inception.... For according to Boece, when all Europe succumbed to the might of the Roman legions and groaned under the yoke of imperial tutelage, Scotland alone succeeded in preserving her freedom and, in a long and noble struggle, never once submitted to slavery and subjection.... By our standards, of course, this is all thoroughly bad history. To Boece's contemporaries, however, it proved a powerfully effective myth. Not only did it provide a fitting - if somewhat belated - riposte to the [English] Brut chronicles published by Caxton, but it did so in terms which both echoed

and reinforced the ideal of the freedom-loving Scottish patriot so eloquently propagated in John Barbour's Bruce and Blind Hary's Wallace.<sup>9</sup>

John Mair (or Major) wrote his own history of Scotland, significantly entitled Historia Maioris Britanniae. As well as dismissing much of the legendary histories of both Scotland and England to be found in Boece, and the Scots' xenophobic view of the English, Mair attempted to persuade his fellow Scots to adopt a common neutral British identity with their fellow English inhabitants of the one island of Britain. More than that, 'as the title of his book suggests, Mair was an unashamed advocate of union and looked forward to the creation of a British monarchy, not through war and conquest, but through a series of dynastic marriages - such as that of James IV to Margaret Tudor - which would in time unite the hitherto sovereign crowns of Scotland and England in the person of a single ruler.'<sup>10</sup>

Mair's views on union must be set against the prevailing nationalist ideology of thinkers like Boece, for whom a British ideology would always remain Anglocentric, and also the political context of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, when a Protestant England under Henry VIII and Edward VI, along with his protector, the duke of Somerset, sought to subsume Catholic Scotland under a Protestant British monarchy.<sup>11</sup> The Reformed model of Scottish nationhood

was developed in the context of an intense sixteenth century debate about where the best alignment of Scotland's interests and identity lay:

The English break with Rome [under Henry VIII] and the spread of Protestantism through her political establishment placed Scotland in a delicate but strategically crucial position on the European stage. Her diplomatic ties and confessional allegiance suddenly, if quite fortuitously, assumed unprecedented significance and much came to depend on whether she too would break with Rome and, severing the ancient alliance with Catholic France, realign herself with Protestant England. In this new context and particularly under Protestant influence, the idea of union was broadcast with renewed intensity and with far-reaching implications.... it was not the union of equal partners envisaged by Mair. On the contrary, it was a union based on the Scots' "domestication" within a revamped and explicitly Protestantized British History. That is, it was a union based on the Scots' acceptance of their historic position as a subject people owing allegiance to an English - or British - crown which was both Protestant and imperial.<sup>12</sup>

It is against this background that we must understand the distinctively Knoxian approach to the question of Scotland's national identity. Recent historical scholarship has thrown greater light on certain known aspects of Knox and his model of Scottish nationhood. Two such lines of interpretation of Knox's thought must be brought together to understand his approach to reforming church and nation in Scotland.

The work of Arthur H. Williamson, in his book Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI<sup>13</sup>, suggests that Knox favoured a union between the two



kingdoms of Scotland and England under a Protestant British Crown. Writing of Knox's notorious First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, Williamson remarks, 'the tract is not simply a critique of women governors. No less is it a treatise on behalf of Anglo-Scottish union.'<sup>14</sup> According to Knox,

The rule of women had led to foreign domination - French domination in Scotland, Spanish in England - and to the suspension of ancient liberties. Foreign domination meant domination by a distinctly different people, a people with a strange tongue, strange manners and laws - and in each case by people who denied Christ Jesus and were "the haters of all vertue". That any nation should be so subjected was monstrous and explicitly against God's ordinance in His holy Word. God had never intended other than that there should be a diversity of nations; manifestly he had not "created the earth to satisfie the ambition of two or three tyranes, but for the universal seed of Adam, and hath appointed and defined the bounds of their habitation." In Knox's view and by his criteria, England and Scotland were separate realms, but the Scots and English composed closely kindred peoples. In fact, their character was so similar, their fates so intertwined, that he seems to have regarded them at least broadly as one nation.<sup>15</sup>

Influenced by the 'Marian exiles', the English reformers with whom he shared an exile on the continent while the two countries were under Catholic regimes, Knox may have embraced their apocalyptic vision that England had a prophesied place in the scriptural revelation of the end times; through a godly monarch who, like a second Constantine, would defeat the anti-Christ and complete the work of reforming and defending Christendom against its enemies, both Pope and Turk:

If such ideas were commonplace among many - though certainly not all - reformers, English reformers made distinguished use of them. For Elizabethan Englishmen were signally successful in identifying their Queen as the prophesied emperor who would reform England and inspire reformation throughout the world. Their key statement was John Foxe's Acts and Monuments... which became orthodoxy for the Elizabethan state.... England was an elect nation. Its experience lay peculiarly at the core of the historical redemption. The story of the English Church... was nothing less than the story embodied in the sacred drama itself.<sup>16</sup>

The English reformers making such claims relied on the historical and documented assertion of 'England's high level of institutionalization and the existence of a massive body of public record.'<sup>17</sup> The ancient continuity of English institutions, records and common law was taken to be the historical evidence of England's elect status and imperial mission. The problem for Knox came, according to Williamson, when he tried to transpose this English apocalyptic understanding of nationhood into a Scottish context. Lacking England's institutional development and large body of public record, through the depredations of war and invasion, Scotland could not so easily bare the weight of an elect national identity and imperial mission: 'What would the Christian apocalypse mean for the Scottish Church and for Scottish public culture? ... An ancient Christian kingdom, Scotland certainly possessed ... the attributes of feudal monarchy. And yet the Scots never produced a claim to counter English pretensions.'<sup>18</sup> While Knox strove to compile a body of Scottish public record, most notably in

his History of the Reformation in Scotland, nothing comparable to the patriotic English sources available to the Marian exiles existed in Scotland.<sup>19</sup> To one wedded to the apocalyptic notion of an imperial destiny and elect identity for the English-speaking nation, there was an attractive solution - Scotland and England were destined to be united in a greater British realm. The political future of a Reformed and godly Scotland lay, therefore, in a Protestant union with imperial England:

Knox ... recognised all the implications of the great task at hand, for reformation also implied union. Knox was convinced that England had a great and prophetic role to perform; what had happened since Henry, plus his close association with the English reformers like Foxe, had made that unquestionable. But the full realization of prophecy would involve the larger English-speaking nation.... He accepted the English vision, but he sought to broaden it and give it a "British" character.<sup>20</sup>

This alone would suggest that Knox was no Scottish nationalist, standing in continuity with those earlier medieval Scottish clergy who sided with Bruce in the fourteenth century Scottish Wars of Independence against England. Such a view is confirmed by the work of another American historian already cited, Richard L. Greaves. In his study of John Knox and Scottish nationalism, Theology and Revolution in The Scottish Reformation: Studies in the Thought of John Knox<sup>21</sup>, Greaves draws on the work of the Catholic historian referred to in the last chapter, David McRoberts, to contrast the strongly nationalistic spirit of the fifteenth century Scottish Kirk with the

singular lack of it in Knox himself. As we have seen in chapter 2, McRoberts demonstrated the extent to which the nationalist sentiment and ideas that accompanied the ascendancy of nation-states in late medieval Europe influenced the Scottish Church. It strongly supported Scotland's separate and national identity within Christendom by cultivating a distinctively Scottish image in its liturgy, piety and general church life. It also showed an early commitment to the political and diplomatic cause of independence. Knox's own approach to Scottish nationhood was markedly different and more complex:

Knox was instrumental in providing the reformed Kirk of Scotland with an unusually eclectic theology and polity that were conducive to the Kirk's active participation in the Christian oikoumene, the universal fellowship of Christians (which, for Knox, excluded the Catholics and Anabaptists). Simultaneously, however, the distinctiveness of the eclectic theology and polity, coupled with Knox's incipient development of the covenant concept, paved the way for a nationalistic Kirk. This is the Knoxian paradox. Yet Knox's governing principle was never conceived in nationalistic or ecumenical terms. That principle, narrowly conceived and reflecting an intolerance born out of strong convictions, was stringent adherence to divine precepts. Stated simply, it required that "in the religion of God onlie oght his owne Word to be considered...."<sup>22</sup>

Greaves argues that Knox tempered the nationalist spirit in Scottish religion. In part this was due to Knox's own personal experience. He had spent significant parts of his life in England and in exile on the continent. This left its mark not only on his spoken

accent but also on his mental outlook. Williamson has sought to show that Knox and like-minded Scots were committed to a British union of Scotland and England under a godly prince, as part of a wider apocalyptic theological vision of reformation. What Greaves draws out of Knox's thinking is the distinctive and central emphasis on the divine precepts of the Word of God as the fundamental motivation for carrying out the work of reform in Scotland.

In his several written appeals from exile to the different classes in Scottish society to take up the cause of reformation, Knox does not draw on patriotic sentiment, as Luther did in his appeal to the German nobility, but directs lord and commoner alike to the Old Testament precedents for prophetic action by a godly people against idolatrous rulers.<sup>23</sup> While Knox does seem to have been susceptible to the English nationalism of Protestant reformers south of the border and therefore favourable to a British union, he sought to reform the Scottish Kirk and nation on biblical and not Scottish nationalist grounds, according to the Word of God. In his appeals to the Scots to reform church and nation, Knox did not draw on stories of Bruce and Wallace and the nation's earlier struggle for independence from an alien foreign power, or on an ancient Celtic Christian tradition free from the see of Rome, as he might well have done in rejecting French Catholic rule and Papal

authority in Scotland. Rather, Knox drew on stories from the Bible, especially the Old Testament stories of Israel rejecting idolatry, and New Testament accounts of the early Church resisting the anti-Christ, to motivate Protestant Christians. But, according to Greaves, that had a paradoxical effect on Scottish national identity, the 'Knoxian paradox'.

The Knoxian paradox, in relation to Scottish nationalism, is that while Knox himself sought to give Scotland a biblical and Reformed faith and Kirk, the theology, church and culture that derived from this approach was soon to take on a distinctive national character. Greaves has concluded:

The key to Knox's actions and beliefs is thus his adherence to the divine will above all else. This principle transcended any concerns whether ecumenical or nationalist in nature. His devotion to truth as he saw it prompted him to develop in Scotland a Kirk with an eclectic foundation and a modestly ecumenical outlook. It so happened that that Kirk was well suited to the growing spirit of Scottish nationalism. No longer was there even a nominal relationship to a foreign head [ie., the French crown]. The eclectic theology and polity of the Kirk made it a distinctively Scottish Kirk, even while enhancing the opportunity for ecumenical fellowship. Knox's statements about the covenant obligations of a commonwealth to God helped lay the foundation for the later development of the notion of Scotland as a covenanted nation. Paradoxically the eclectic foundation of theology and polity which Knox contributed to the Kirk of Scotland made it sui generis and thus a suitable vehicle for the expression of Scottish national consciousness.<sup>24</sup>

However, the nationalist paradox or unforeseen nationalist consequences of the Knoxian approach to reforming the Scottish Kirk, which will be considered below, should not

detract from the fundamental importance of Knox's  
biblicist and non-nationalist approach to national  
reform. As Greaves notes of Knox's use of the covenant  
idea:

In his development of these covenant concepts Knox avoids the possible implications for Scottish nationalism. His concern is to stress the duty of believers to obey the higher Law, not the unity of the Scottish people in a national covenant with God. His conception is fundamentally one of united believers opposed to pagans and idolaters; the element of nationalism, when it is present, is thoroughly subordinate.... He obviously conceived of the possibility of a covenanted nation, but he makes virtually nothing of the idea, and certainly does not use it to benefit significantly from the spirit of Scottish nationalism. He clearly does not think of Scotland as the elect nation of God, as did the Scottish Covenanters.<sup>25</sup>

Yet here is a further Knoxian paradox that Greaves fails to note, the paradox indicated by Arthur Williamson in his study of Knox's role in shaping Scottish national consciousness. While Knox may have carefully eschewed the status of elect nation for Scotland alone, an identity with which he is often associated, he seems to have imagined Scotland as part of the wider elect nation of the English-speaking Great Britain.

In his essay on 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', Williamson argues that, in the context of Anglo-Scottish politics and English apocalyptic nationalism, Reformed Scotland faced a fundamental choice about the way it could imagine itself as a nation. Scotland could be imagined either as an



autonomous nation covenanted to God, or it could unite with England in a British covenant as the elect nation of Great Britain, so sharing in England's apocalyptic identity. As Scotland lacked a comparable historical consciousness on which to base an identity as an elect Protestant nation with an imperial crown and destiny, two paths opened up for the Reformed model of a godly nation, with far-reaching consequences for Scottish nationhood:

In broad terms, it led Scottish thinking in two potentially exclusive directions. If Scotland possessed no imperial past to be re-written and re-interpreted, the present moment in itself might achieve a spectacular, indeed apocalyptic significance. Scotsmen might covenant with their God to create a church and kingdom central to the historical redemption. To do so would focus God's grace into a single moment of Sinaitic intensity. Such a moment of Mosaic innovation would actively create Scotland's sacred institutions and define her mission without any necessary reference to her past. A Scotland covenanted rather <sup>than</sup> elected would stress typology at the expense of history, and legislation, not prescription, would endow the ancient kingdom with new purpose.<sup>26</sup>

And yet the Scots were slow to adopt the national identity of a covenanted nation and to imagine Scotland in this existential way. Williamson believes that this was because they already had an alternative and credible covenant identity, as part of a greater British union:

The covenant as a national typology first appears several decades into the Scottish reformation. Muted and circumscribed, it gained spiritual intensity only gradually, and not before 1638 did such a massive religio-legist enactment occur without qualification. The slow development of a national covenant derived from a great many causes, but one of the most significant (and least discussed) is the existence of a competing political vision, already broadly shaped before



1560. Scotsmen could covenant with themselves (and God) to establish a Scottish Church and a re-defined Scottish nation. But they had another alternative which many Scotsmen could find intellectually more appealing and politically more persuasive. For they might instead covenant with Englishmen (and God, needless to add) in the latter days and thereby create an altogether new state. This proposed British covenant long antedated the purely Scottish conception.<sup>27</sup>

Within the Reformed model, therefore, were two competing and, potentially at least, incompatible political frameworks for imagining Scotland as a Christian nation, either within an autonomous Scottish context or a unionist context of imperial Britain. Even before the rise of the national covenant typology, opposition to a British imperial identity for Scotland can be found among Scots who took a very different interpretation of the biblical apocalyptic literature compared with Knox and the Marian exiles. The latter held that the role of a godly prince, a latter-day Constantine in an elect nation, England/Britain, was essential to the Protestant reformation of Christendom, as set out in the sacred drama of history at the end-time. But Scottish analysts of the apocalypse like John Napier, the mathematician, undermined such an interpretation, and with it the political theology and national identity that it offered Scotland.

Although it had been the Marian exiles who had interested Napier in sacred prophecy, through his own

studies, 'Napier reversed their thinking and set forth views which were intensely anti-imperial. There would be no godly prince, no elect nation (either English or "British"), for the Constantinian model upon which they rested was utterly ill-founded.'<sup>28</sup> Williamson comments:

Thus Napier had adopted the Marian exiles' intense concern with the apocalypse only to contradict their British vision in the profoundest way. As Knox had found - though without visible regret - there could be no Scottish counterclaim to one of an English national election; there could only be a broadened British empire. For Scotsmen, the godly prince inherently meant this empire of English-speakers; the two terms became inextricable, ultimately synonymous. Therefore, by its vigorous assault on Constantine, godly prince and national election, his work no less vigorously assailed the entire basis for Knox's Anglo-Scottish union.... Thereby Napier's book constitutes an emphatic assertion of Scotland's autonomy, and as such it would pave the way for a specifically Scottish reformation.<sup>29</sup>

By rejecting the notion of the godly prince, Napier's thinking would have further consequences for Scotland once it entered into a union of the crowns with England in 1603, under James VI and I; James saw himself as King of Great Britain and his propagandists placed him in the role of the godly prince, another Constantine<sup>30</sup>. Not only did Napier's work offer a critique of Knox's Britain, it would challenge James' Britain in the first decade of the seventeenth century:

At that time, it would form one of the intellectual bases for the presbyterian counterattack against the political and institutional implications of the union of the crowns. The presbyterians would argue that the union was resulting in the violation of Scotland's political integrity, and much of the debate would centre on the issue of the godly

prince and the image of Constantine. Nothing would do more to dampen the apocalyptic enthusiasms of Knox's episcopalian heirs for the new Britain than Napier's powerful and erudite demolition of the model from which it was derived.<sup>31</sup>

Clearly, then, there was a debate about the proper political theological parameters of Scotland as a Christian nation from a very early period in the intellectual history of the Reformed model. While Williamson recognises the role of the pre-reformation scholastic thinker John Mair in raising the question of Scotland's future in a Greater Britain<sup>32</sup>, it was in the period of the reformation and after that this became a central and pressing question for the paradigmatic tradition of Christian nationhood. The question of Scotland's British identity became inseparable from questions about its identity as a Protestant nation and about the autonomy of its own institutions.

In the Reformed model, the identification of the church with the state and the identity of Scotland with God's chosen people were not as clear cut as in the previous Catholic model. Neither could be mobilised unequivocally in the cause of the nation's freedom against the threat of English conquest and oppression. Now Protestant England could be embraced in the common cause of godly reform, and in the enticing vision of a greater British union.

However, this union with a far larger and stronger neighbour posed an inevitable threat to Scottish identity and autonomy, not least for the Scottish church; and this meant that the Reformed model contained its own tensions and contradictions from its very inception in the years before and after 1560. At times it was able to offer the Scots arguments and unifying images defending their national identity. We have already noted, from Roger Mason's analysis of texts of the time, the way in which the Protestant Lords of the Congregation, strongly influenced by John Knox, moved from the religious discourse of the covenant to the patriotic language of the commonweal to motivate the Scots in the cause of reform and revolt against the regent Mary of Guise in the late 1550s.<sup>33</sup> And we shall see below the importance of patriotic and nationalist appeals in the history of Covenanting Scotland. Yet that same Reformed model was open to a British union in part because its primary discourse and appeal was the religious one of godliness rather than freedom. Such a godly nation could more easily extend the boundaries of its imagined community to embrace the larger identity of Protestant Britain and an apocalyptic union under a godly prince. And, just as the Reformed model was more willing to imagine a Scottish identity within a larger British one, so it was also more prone to subordinating the political independence of Scottish nationhood, its statehood, to its perceived religious integrity as an elect nation, embodied in its

godly Kirk. In the Reformed model Scotland was prone to becoming a church-nation in which a non-ecclesial way of imagining the nation became increasingly discounted.

These tensions and contradictions within the Reformed model must be set alongside its undoubted dynamism as an agent of social change in reforming national life. And here the vision and practices of national godliness were central. Nowhere do we find this Knoxian model of national reformation better expressed than in the later motto of Glasgow. Like that city, Scotland was to flourish through the preaching of the Word and the praising of God's name. The Reformed model of Knox and his successors undoubtedly sought the transformation of national life through the application of the gospel and laws of God. This model was rooted in the Knoxian and Calvinist principle that the Word of God applied to the whole of life in both church and society - to the commoner, lord and ruler in secular affairs as much as to the religious life of the believer. The Knoxian and Reformed concern for popular education, the welfare of the poor, the conduct of the magistrate and monarch in national affairs, all of these concerns reflect this model of the transforming effect of the Word of God in nurturing the godly life of the nation.<sup>34</sup>

However, and here is the paradoxical effect of such an approach, this Knoxian model of the Word of God

fashioning a godly commonwealth through godly rulers and preachers, gave rise through time to a uniquely Scottish religious and cultural ethos and identity, what the sociologist John Highet has called the 'Presbyterian nation'.<sup>35</sup> The Reformed Kirk, having set out to create a reformed nation according to the Word of God, became so closely identified with its own creation that within a century and a half it became difficult to tell them apart. Not without struggle during the course of the seventeenth century, as presbyterian and episcopalian parties fought for control of the national Kirk, Scotland took on a new national identity, enshrined in the Westminster Confession of Faith and set hard in the popular imagination by strict adherence to Calvinist orthodoxy and rejection of bishops. So successful was the transformation that by 1707 the two identities of presbyterian and Scottish came to be regarded as virtually synonymous in the national mind of many Scots (many but by no means all). At the Treaty of Union with England in that year, Scotland would only enter a British union if a key element in its continuing national identity, the presbyterian and Calvinist nature of its national Kirk, was guaranteed for all time. This is an ironic achievement for a Reformed model of the Christian nation that did not set out to be nationalistic.

#### The Episcopalian Alternative Model - Sacred Kingship

Before passing on to a consideration of the

Covenanted 'presbyterian nation', it must be recognised at this point that from at least 1638 there was another competing way of imagining Scotland that drew great support from the Scots, not least among the remnant of the episcopalian party in the Church of Scotland after 1688 - the Jacobite vision and royal Stewart version of Scottish identity, in which sacred kingship rather than the Kirk was the key image of nationhood. Murray Pittock has shown the power of that Stewart myth in shaping the national consciousness from the time of Charles I down to present day Scottish nationalism and popular culture, in his book The Invention of Scotland.<sup>36</sup> Episcopalians played a key role in developing the religious dimension of the Jacobite 'invention of Scotland', Pittock's phrase which fits well with an understanding of nationhood as imagined community:

The heavenly aim of the Episcopalians was to preserve the image of sacred kingship and the idea of the Stuarts as saviour-kings for a distressed and suffering nation. In order to do this they perpetuated and developed Stuart iconography and traditional typologies which supported the ideals of sacred kingship.... The idea of the state which Episcopal ideology expressed was exemplified in hierarchy, loyalty, and an iconography of tradition: all the values on which the Stuarts relied. It was shattered after 1689, and fragmented by the Act of Union, which destroyed even the idea of a Scottish state on which such ideological premises could be based. Henceforward, the Episcopalian idea of the king's two bodies [sacred and secular] was propounded in a hieratic form through sacred Jacobite poetry, with its confidence in God's inner purposes, and in an emotive form through erotic Jacobite poetry. In these songs, the king is presented through a range of images from Christ-figure to simple lover - who might have come from any Scottish folk song.<sup>37</sup>

As David Stevenson has written, Scotland has had since the sixteenth century two great and often competing popular historical mythologies of national identity, the Stewart/Jacobite tradition centred on the royal dynasty and its sufferings, and the Presbyterian/Covenanting tradition of popular struggle for religious and other freedoms.<sup>38</sup> Our focus in this thesis is on the latter mythology as it operated in the Reformed model of Christian nationhood; but recognition must be made here of the Episcopalian religious imagery that undergirded the Jacobite 'invention of Scotland' and which offered the Scots an important and influential alternative political theological model, within the paradigm of Christian nationhood, with its own dominant ideas and organising images of sacred kingship and Scottish identity.

#### The Reformed Model - A Godly Nation

The Reformed model, with its commitment to transforming the whole of national life according to the Word of God, was a dynamic force in Scottish society that brought many benefits in character and culture. The emphasis on the Bible, preaching and the catechising of the population in correct theological belief, and the related importance of widespread literacy and parish schools, were major factors in the growth of the democratic intellect, a Scottish educational tradition open to different social classes<sup>39</sup>. This tradition



stressed the importance of a general education in philosophy and facility in abstract thought for all students, giving rise to the Scots' metaphysical cast of the Scottish mind and identity which their more empiricist and utilitarian southern neighbours found so alien. The emphasis on the priesthood of all believers, the equality of all men and women before God, and the participation of laymen as elders in the government of the church, fostered a more egalitarian and proto-democratic outlook, albeit within the constraints of the existing social order, in the life of church and nation. The Calvinist stress on the responsibility of the local parish church for the welfare of the poor within the community, and the responsibility of the preacher to apply the Word of God to the affairs of the community and nation, 'preaching to the times', meant a theological tradition in Scotland which was concerned with questions of justice in society as much as with justification by faith. The Scottish theological mind and Christian social practice operating within this Reformed model rejected any split or dualism in a proper Christian concern for the affairs of both the divinely predestined human soul and the divinely ordained state. The characteristic emphasis by Knox and his successors on the Old Testament and history of Israel as a model for national reformation led to an acute sense of God's active involvement in the affairs of men and nations. It was the task of the prophet and preacher to discern God's ways in the midst of national affairs.

The Old Testament model of Israel also led to a blurring of the distinctions between ecclesiastical and national issues. It is here that the tradition of a contextual theology of identity in the Christendom paradigm of the Christian nation can be seen to have survived and indeed flourished after the Reformation in the Reformed model of the godly nation. However, there is a profound difference in the way in which the two models of Christian nationhood identified with the nation in biblical and theological terms. While the Catholic model tended to use its Biblical references to undergird its nationalist religious and political concerns, the Reformed model tended to see the Scottish nation primarily in biblical terms. The late Ian Henderson made this point well in his book, Power without Glory:

There is one final and fateful consequence of the acceptance of the Old Testament as a blueprint for Scotland. The Old Testament is the story of a nation which ceased to be a nation and became a church. It is hardly surprising if Scotland, having taken the Old Testament as a political handbook, has met with a like fate. In the mid-seventeenth century the Scots followed the Old Testament to the extent of transposing political and national realities into an ecclesiastical key.<sup>40</sup>

Scotland came to be seen in the 1630s and after as a nation with a special covenanted relationship with the Almighty. The National Covenant of 1638, first signed in Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, is as important a document for understanding the Reformed model of Scotland as a godly nation, as the Declaration of Arbroath is for

grasping the earlier Catholic model of a free nation. In the National Covenant, a protest against the Scottish church and national policies of King Charles 1, Scotland was once more declared to be a nation under the Word of God. The political and religious interests of the country were held to be inseparable:

In obedeince to the Commandment of God, conforme to the practice of the godly in former times, and according to the laudable example of our Worthy and Religious Progenitors, & of many yet living amongst us, which was warranted also by act of Councill, comanding a general band to be made and subscribed by his Majesty's subjects, of all ranks, for two causes: One was, For defending the true Religion, as it was then reformed, and is expressed in the Confession of Faith abovewritten, and a former large Confession established by sundry acts of lawfull generall assemblies, & of Parliament, unto which it hath relation, set down in Publick Catechismes, and which had been for many years with a blessing from Heaven preached, and professed in this Kirk and Kingdome, as Gods undoubted truth, grounded only upon his written Word. The other cause was, for maintaining the Kings Majesty, His Person, and Estate: the true worship of God and the Kings authority, being so straitly joined, as that they had the same Friends, and common enemies, and did stand and fall together.<sup>41</sup>

Along with the diplomatic but sincere wish to maintain "the Kings Majesty, His Person and Estate", the signatories of the National Covenant declared that their purpose in forming a 'general band' was the defence of 'the true Religion'. The true worship of God and the King's authority were seen as standing or falling together. With such an exalted sense of the role of

religion in national life, it became increasingly hard to distinguish between the cause of true religion and the cautious pursuit of Scotland's national interests in the complex world of politics and statecraft. More than that, a new possibility was arising in the choice of 'images of communion' available for imagining Scottish nationhood:

The revolt of 1638 completed a process which had been going on since the 1590s of a new emerging vision of Scotland. By the 1630s the state of the Church was widely accepted as a metaphor for the condition of the nation itself. The day of the signing of the National Covenant was hailed by Wariston as "the marriage day of the Kingdom with God". Scotland was acclaimed as the new Israel, they being "the only two sworn nations of the Lord". The identity of Church and state were merged - into a covenanted nation.<sup>42</sup>

Historically, the King of Scots had been a key unifying image of Scottish nationhood and identity, as is reflected in the National Covenant and in the episcopalian/Stewart myth of sacred kingship. But the Wars of the Covenant brought that image into question. Commenting on the role of James VI in the events leading to rebellion against Charles I in 1638, and the problems created for Scotland by an absentee monarch in London after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, Michael Lynch has stated:

It needs to be remembered that rebellion is not only a matter of votes in parliament or riots; at bottom it is about the force of ideas. The idea which for centuries has been the most compelling force in politics was the notion of the King of Scots as the main or only guarantor of the independence of the Scottish nation. It was in

James' reign that it lost its monopoly status. Gradually over the course of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, two new images which would have huge importance for the future history of Scotland emerged and fused: the Kirk steadily became a metaphor for Scottish identity; and a conviction grew that the maintenance of the 'auld estait' of Scotland was safer in other hands than those of the King of Scots. Foremost among the propagandists of these alternative visions were David Hume of Godscroft and John Napier of Merchiston.... It was Hume who first identified the threat to a presbyterian polity as a threat to Scotland itself....43

During the Covenanting Revolution the Kirk became the key 'image of communion' for many Scots in their sense of nationhood and national identity. Significantly, this development took place at a time of crisis for Scotland as a political nation when the unifying national image of kingship had become a highly problematic and ambiguous one under the absentee Stewarts. The Kirk filled a political vacuum, a role it has continued to fill in some measure into the late twentieth century.44 Lynch finds it striking that the moral authority of the Kirk in this national function was not damaged by its own divisions in the later seventeenth century: 'The Church of Scotland was split, hopelessly, and beyond repair; but a Calvinist nation was utterly secure.'45

This tendency to transpose national questions into an ecclesiastical key is evident no matter what kind of theological and ecclesiological outlook dominated the

Kirk at any particular period, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. The radical Presbyterians who strongly influenced Scottish political life during the 1640s pressed for a religious settlement for the rest of the British Isles that would have brought England and Ireland into presbyterian conformity with Scotland, as a condition of Scottish military support for the English Parliamentary forces against Charles I.<sup>46</sup> The resulting Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 typifies this Scottish tendency to perceive military and political questions of statecraft in religious and ecclesiastical terms. The conquest, occupation and forced union of Scotland with England by Oliver Cromwell in the 1650s shows the cost of this adherence to the notion of a covenanted nation and a covenanted king for Scotland's independence. The later Covenanters of the Killing Time, during the reigns of Charles II and James VII, continued to adhere to the Reformed model of Scotland as a covenanted nation at great personal cost and long after it had ceased to be a concept uniting the Scots in a common national consciousness. But the passage from the more violent years of religious conflict in the seventeenth century into the calmer waters of the eighteenth century Enlightenment did not mean the abandoning of this tendency in the Reformed model of Scotland to conceive of national interests primarily in terms of the interests of the national church.

At the time of the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 questions of national independence were once more transposed into ecclesiastical terms by a church leader like William Carstares, who wrote in a letter of 1706 that, 'the desire I have to see our church secured makes me in love with the Union as the most probable means to preserve it....'.<sup>47</sup> His modern biographer Ian Dunlop has written:

There is no doubt that many ministers throughout Scotland feared the Union; some because they expected prelatic influence from the south and some because they were politically averse to the surrender of national sovereignty. In the country districts especially many were passionately against it, and they were supported by large numbers of their congregations. Had the Church thrown its weight and influence against the Union it is exceedingly unlikely that it would ever have passed. At this point, Carstares probably played a decisive part in persuading the ministers not to take action. Greater danger for the Church and nation lay in Scotland's being independent and soon, in all likelihood Jacobite (which probably meant being Papist and a limb of France) than in Union with England whose Church although prelatical was strongly anti-Roman.<sup>48</sup>

And so in 1707 many in church and nation thought like Carstares that the Act of Security, ensuring the presbyterian government and Protestant confession of the Kirk as the established national Church of Scotland within the British Union, was a sufficient guarantee of continuing national autonomy and the safeguarding of national interests. It must be borne in mind that the Kirk of that time played a major part in the local administration of national life, especially in the



spheres of welfare and education, and therefore its continuing establishment and autonomy had secular as well as religious implications. While acknowledging the widespread popular protest at the Union, from burghs, presbyteries, and the city mobs, it must also be borne in mind that the Scottish Parliament had had a rather inglorious record as an independent force in national affairs for most of its history and therefore did not command the level of popular support that the Kirk did as a national institution. As the political scientist Jack Brand has noted, in his study of Scottish nationalism:

In the seventeenth century when, for practical purposes, the Scottish Parliament did not meet, the Church, through its General Assembly, carried out many of the functions of a parliament (sic). After the Union of 1707 it was again almost the only body to gather together people from all over Scotland to discuss religious and other questions. The estate of the burgesses still continued to meet as the Convention of Royal Burghs but it did not have the same prestige as the Church and most of the nobility turned their attention to London. Until the middle of the nineteenth century other denominations were of no real account. After the Union the Church of Scotland was, as we have seen, one of the protected institutions. Without this agreement it is difficult to see how the Scots would have accepted the Treaty since the Presbyterian and Calvinist Church of Scotland was utterly opposed to the imposition of bishops and to the latitudinarian theology of the Church of England.<sup>49</sup>

It is not fanciful to see in these events the continuing legacy of both the Knoxian paradox and the covenant nation - the tendency to elide the interests of church and nation into purely ecclesiastical terms under the Old Testament vision of the godly nation under the



Word of God, while recognising the attractions of a British union for such a Protestant vision of Scotland, as Knox may well have done himself a hundred and fifty years before.

Similarly, during the church-state conflicts of the early nineteenth century, in the years leading up to the Disruption of the Kirk in 1843, legitimate political questions about the treatment of Scottish affairs by an overwhelmingly English Westminster Parliament were transposed almost exclusively into ecclesiastical and British terms. As the historian Monica Clough has observed about the events surrounding 1843, "...what might have developed into a declaration of independence, had there been leaders more concerned with the underlying political implications than with religious ones, merely turned into the Disruption of the Kirk, and not the rupture of the state."<sup>50</sup> It took a Scottish philosopher of the time, Professor J. F. Ferrier of St Andrews University, to recognise the constitutional nature of the Disruption controversy, in a pamphlet on Church and State which he published in 1848.<sup>51</sup>

His work stands within the paradigmatic tradition of the Christian nation. Ferrier notes that the reformation theory of the church is, 'that the whole believing community is "the church" - a congregation of priests; the whole Christian nation is a spiritual or

ecclesiastical commonwealth.'52 With such a Reformed model of the nation, Ferrier was in no doubt that it was the intention of the reformers that, 'the legislation of the church is not to be left exclusively, or anything like exclusively, in the hands of the clergy.'53 He argued that the Scottish reformers summoned all classes of people to take a 'very extensive share in the legislation of spiritual affairs', and, therefore, that the General Assembly 'was a national and not an ecclesiastical board.'54 Ferrier could thus state:

The one Scottish Parliament became, under the agitation of the reformers, two Scottish Parliaments. And our General Assembly of the present day, however much it may have altered its character, IS THE SECOND AND JUNIOR OF THESE SCOTTISH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.... In short, every historical circumstance connected with its early formation proves that the General Assembly of our church was nothing more and nothing less than what we have called it - an extra House of Parliament, a second supreme National Assembly, organised for the treatment of ecclesiastical topics. We shall see by-and-by that it would be more correct and philosophical to say that this second House of Parliament was only the first under a new face and somewhat different organisation.... the whole nation, at the time of the Reformation, became an ecclesiastical estate.'55

On such constitutional arguments, Ferrier praised the Free Church ministers who left the established Kirk in 1843 but criticized their grounds for doing so:

Therefore we applaud most cordially the Free Church ministers for having stood out manfully in defence of their constitutional privileges. We are sorry that we cannot extend the same approbation to the grounds on which they defended their rights. These we must utterly condemn.... They held out on the grounds that they were an ecclesiastical court, superintending and

representing ecclesiastical interests. They are nothing of the kind. The General Assembly is a civil court, founded on the national will, for the conduct of spiritual affairs. They are Parliament itself, discharging spiritual functions; and as such they impregnable.<sup>56</sup>

Here we find an intellectually fascinating if politically marginal argument for the constitutional nature of the Disruption conflict. For our purposes, its significance lies in the degree to which Ferrier, as a brilliant presbyterian intellectual of the mid-nineteenth century, identifies with the idea of a Christian nation, and with the church as a key and integral national constitutional institution - the nation at prayer and about its parliamentary business concerning spiritual affairs. This is perhaps one of the last eloquent and high intellectual defences of the Reformed model of the Christian nation at a point in its history when it was in profound crisis.

It was not until the mid-nineteenth century, perhaps as the national cost of that schism became more evident after the initial euphoria of the event itself, that some Scottish ministers and presbyterian thinkers stopped perceiving the national questions bound up in the Disruption in exclusively ecclesiastical terms. For example, in the years after 1843 a leading Evangelical minister who came out at the Disruption and was prominent in the Free Church, the Rev. Dr James Begg, began to

argue the connection between the ecclesiastical problems of Scotland and the way in which the country was governed. This is evident from the title of one of his pamphlets, A Violation of the Treaty of Union: The Main Origin of our Ecclesiastical Divisions and Other Evils.<sup>57</sup> Only a few years after the Disruption he advocated the devolution of executive powers to Scotland and even the establishment of a legislative body 'to dispose of purely Scottish questions' if no executive reforms were forthcoming from Westminster. In the judgement of H. J. Hanham, a historian of Scottish nationalism, when Begg published these views in 1850, this marked the first modern Scottish nationalist agitation.<sup>58</sup> In the next few years it led on to the setting up of the first effective nationalist movement', the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, founded in 1853, of which Begg was a supporter. But this unravelling of the affairs of church and nation in the mind of one who still adhered to the Reformed model of the godly nation came too late to save the national Church itself when, as we shall see, it broke apart in 1843.

### Christ and Nation - Three Reformed Types

Before looking at the Disruption and its affect on the Reformed model of Scotland in greater depth, something further must be noted. It is important to recognise, within the Reformed tradition's tendency to align the interests of church and nation in the one godly

commonwealth, three different ways in which the church was seen to relate to the nation. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, we can see different groups within the Reformed tradition taking a strongly separatist stance in relation to the main body of the nation, strongly identifying with the established order within the nation, and earnestly seeking the transformation of national life.<sup>59</sup>

The Cameronian Covenanters of the later seventeenth century became an increasingly separatist remnant in loyalty to what they saw as the binding and perpetual national covenants of 1638 and 1643 and in opposition to what they saw as an apostate nation of covenant-breakers under a covenant-breaking monarch. These later Covenanters, to be distinguished from the broad social spectrum represented in the early Covenanters who signed the 1638 National Covenant, still adhered passionately to what has here been termed the Christendom paradigm of Christian nationhood. That is, they exalted Christ as the Lord over the nations and their rulers, and believed that the nation should find its true identity by adhering to spiritual and moral principle, enshrined for them in the Covenants of 1638 and 1643. As they declared at Sanquhar on the 22nd of June, 1680, in rejecting the rule of Charles II and his brother and heir, the Duke of York:

... as the representative of the true presbyterian kirk and covenanted nation of Scotland... do by thir presents disown Charles Stuart... As also, we

being under the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ, Captain of salvation, do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper and the men of his practices, as enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ... As also we disown, and by this resent the reception of the Duke of York, that professed papist, as repugnant to our principles and vows to the most high God, and as that which is the great, though not alone, just reproach of our kirk and nation.<sup>60</sup>

Couched in language not dissimilar to that of the much earlier Catholic document, the Declaration of Arbroath, which also threatened to disown the Scottish King, Robert the Bruce, if he abandoned the nation's cause and principles, the Sanquhar Declaration bears all the marks of the Christendom paradigm of nationhood shared by both Catholic and Reformed traditions alike. However, it was the work not of the great ecclesiastical servants of state, as in 1320, but of a despised minority. As they were to declare again at Sanquhar in 1685, they saw themselves as, '... the contending and suffering remnant of the true presbyterians of the Church ... a poor wasted, wronged, wounded, reproached, despised and bleeding remnant ... setting ourselves against all injuries and affronts done to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ...'.<sup>61</sup> As J. D. Douglas has written, in his history of these Covenanters, they were able to continue in their increasingly desperate resistance to a hostile state, 'heartened by their unflinching confidence that "God... still leaned from heaven to observe the doings of His moorland remnant."' <sup>62</sup> A starker position of separation from the nation could hardly be imagined, and

yet still these men and women adhered to the Reformed model of a godly nation under faithful preachers and God-fearing rulers. It is almost impossible to imagine the the Moderate leaders of the established Kirk of the succeeding century seeing themselves as a moorland remnant within the nation.

In total contrast with the later separatist Covenanters, although still within the bounds of the Reformed model of Scotland as a godly nation, the Moderates, the dominant church party in the Kirk's life from the mid-eighteenth century, identified closely with the nascent cultural life and ruling social order of Scotland. Rejecting the spirit of dogmatic religious conflict in church and state which characterised the previous century, the Moderates believed that the Church of Scotland, as the established national Kirk, should be a source of moral improvement in a more enlightened age. They steered clear of conflict with the British state in church matters. In 1712 (1711 depending on dating) the British Parliament passed an act restoring the ancient system of patronage in ministerial appointments that had been abolished by the Scottish Parliament in 1690. The controversy over patronage became a growing root of bitterness in eighteenth century church life, with an increasing number of Calvinist secessions from the established Kirk as the century progressed, despite the General Assembly's annual protest to Parliament over the

patronage act. The Moderates accepted the re-introduction of patronage as the law of the land with which a creative church compromise was possible.

In their version of the Reformed model of national life, the fundamental Moderate principle was the integration of church and community in the harmonious whole of civil society, through social discipline, ecclesiastical order and moral improvement. In a study of the Scottish Enlightenment and the Church's role in it, Anand Chitnis has written that the the Moderates, 'wished Christianity to be a crucial influence in society - especially a society that was undergoing all the economic and social change of mid-eighteenth century Scotland.'<sup>63</sup> That Christian influence was to be achieved through an institutional and intellectual identification with the nation. For the Moderates, 'the Church was not only to interpenetrate society, but itself bore an analogy to society. Their ideal was a broad-based and undogmatic Kirk, with the Assembly being the focus for all aspects of national life. Their notions concorded well with the thoughts of the Scottish Enlightenment.'<sup>64</sup>

While no church party could be further removed from the later Covenanters than the Moderates, it is significant that we find in the latter the same conviction that the Kirk should play such a central role in unifying national life. They moved away from the old



theocratic notion of a covenant nation but their model of an enlightened nation was still conceived of in ecclesiastical terms. One reason they may have been willing to tolerate patronage, apart from the practical benefit that patrons tended to choose Moderate ministers to fill their pulpits, was their concern to preserve and assert the remaining autonomy and powers of the Kirk in Scottish civil society. They had no wish to provoke the state to further involvement in internal church affairs that were already subject to careful management and control by Moderate church leaders.<sup>65</sup>

The Moderates were led by outstanding figures in that renaissance of learning known as the Scottish Enlightenment, such as William Robertson, historian, principal of Edinburgh University, moderator of the Kirk's General Assembly, and friend of the sceptical philosopher, David Hume. Their involvement in the philosophical and social developments of the time represents a distinguished phase in the old Reformed model of shaping the whole life of the nation, potentially a second Reformation with as profound an influence on the life of Scotland as the first.<sup>66</sup> Yet their identification with the nation was to prove a two-edged sword. The willingness of the Moderates to accept what was to many Scots the unacceptable, the intrusion of ministers by patrons on unwilling congregations, and the rise of the other Popular or Evangelical party in

opposition to both theological Moderatism and church patronage, weakened their influence and finally ended their long hegemony over Kirk affairs. By the 1830s the Evangelicals were in the majority in the General Assembly.

The Evangelical Party that supplanted the Moderates in power and influence within the Kirk as the nineteenth century unfolded, held to the Moderates' model of an integrated Scottish society and an established national Kirk within the British Union. They rejected patronage and, ultimately, compromise with the British state in their overriding commitment to realising their vision of a godly commonwealth. Primarily they sought to transform the life of the nation through the work of spiritual regeneration and parochial pastoral care and social welfare. The Evangelicals saw the national Church continuing to shape the structures of national life in a fast emerging urban, industrial society as it had done within the burghs and rural parishes of the old economy. This was to be achieved through the establishment by the Kirk of new parishes and centres of urban mission in the burgeoning industrial areas of central Scotland. The most able and energetic exponent of the Evangelical plan for a rejuvenated national Establishment of religion in this urban age was Thomas Chalmers.<sup>67</sup>

An evangelical experience of conversion while

serving as a parish minister at Kilmany in his native Fife led Chalmers away from his earlier Moderate outlook towards the Calvinist model of a nation reformed by the Word of God:

... it is significant that Chalmers believed that he had accomplished, with God's help, a great change in the parish. For him it became a microcosm of the nation and a model for national development. The programmes he pursued for the communal organisation of Kilmany, he believed, should be adopted in every parish in the nation. Basic to his parish policies was an Evangelical piety, emphasising individual obedience to God's Scriptural laws as the initial step towards salvation through grace. This piety was not simply to be something superadded to the organic community, but rather was to inform every aspect of community life. His Kilmany experience strengthened him in his vision of Scotland, or rather Britain, as an Evangelical nation, a godly commonwealth of parish communities, in which individual parishioners joined together in pursuit of Christian ideals, under the direction of the national established Church.<sup>68</sup>

Chalmers never lost the Moderate concern for learning and intellectual enquiry but after his conversion he married it to the Evangelical and older Covenanting concern for godliness in personal and national life. Chalmers embraced in his own life and synthesized these two different strands in the Reformed approach to nationhood within his own social vision. Chalmers believed that the godly parish of his native Fife could be transposed into the heartland of industrial Scotland. He argued that such new urban parishes could continue to meet all the educational, welfare, spiritual and pastoral needs of the new urban masses in place of

government provision of schools or poor relief.

To that end, he persuaded the authorities to establish a new parish of St John's in the crowded east end of Glasgow as a model for his social vision. He mobilised the concerned Evangelical middle classes of the city to assist him in visiting and caring for the poor. Due to his own prodigious energy and organising skills, and the huge pulling power of his preaching and lecturing, his plan got off the ground but did not long survive his own departure for a teaching post at St Andrews University.<sup>69</sup> Under the intolerable twin strains of patronage and poverty on the Kirk's life and resources, coupled with the indifference of both the British state and the working classes to his schemes for parish expansion, Chalmers' vision of the established Church adapting the rural model of the godly parish to the new industrial communities was never realised on a national scale. It lost its social dynamism and plausability with the break-up of the established national Church itself, Chalmers' own chosen instrument for godly reform.

But the Evangelical party under Chalmers' leadership advocated a version of the Reformed model of the Christian nation committed to the social transformation of Scottish society, albeit one rooted in Evangelical individualism 'as the first step towards

social reform'.<sup>70</sup> Chalmers stands as a key exemplar of the paradigmatic tradition of Christian nationhood and an articulate exponent of the Reformed model of church and nation. He revived the dominant idea of personal and social godliness at the centre of the Calvinist model of Scotland. Chalmers also continued the Reformed model's transposition of national into ecclesiastical questions, seeing the fate of the national Established Church as fundamental to the solving of Scotland's social, economic and political problems.

#### The Disruption - The Strange Death of the Reformed Model?

The Reformed model of Scotland as a godly nation, where Kirk and people were one, experienced its greatest crisis on the 18th of May, 1843, at the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. When Thomas Chalmers rose to follow the Moderator Dr Welsh and lead the Evangelicals out of the General Assembly of the Kirk, over the question of the freedom of Christ's Church from State intervention in its affairs, it was not only an act of personal and material sacrifice in the name of Christian principle, as ministers left their manses and stipends, and members their parish churches, to face an uncertain future in the new Free Church of Scotland. It was also a national tragedy for those committed to Chalmers' version of the Reformed model of Christian nationhood. Without a national establishment of religion, Chalmers' Christian social vision could not be realized.

Chalmers was perhaps the last Reformed social thinker to advocate a comprehensive and coherent theological and sociological model of a Christian nation and seek to implement his ideas on a national scale in a modern, emerging industrial society. Central to his vision was the national establishment of the one Kirk, supported by the State, embracing the whole community, including the poor and the urban working classes, within its local parishes. By leaving that established national Kirk at the Disruption, Chalmers was not only asserting the right of Christ as the sole King and Head of His Church, and freeing the Kirk from the shackles of state control, as he saw it. He was also destroying his own model of the nation as a godly commonwealth united in every community through one local parish church and its provision of education and poor relief. A divided Kirk simply could not meet the spiritual, educational and welfare needs of the whole Scottish people, as Chalmers had envisaged and striven for in his brilliant campaign for church extension over many years before 1843. Its divided members could only compete for the spiritual allegiance of the people and channel resources into duplicating churches and schools throughout the country. By 1845 the social breadth of the Reformed model of the godly nation was already being abandoned by Chalmers' own Free Kirk and, not surprisingly, the British state. In that year the Free Church of Scotland abandoned its leader's social vision of comprehensive spiritual and

social care for the urban poor and working class.<sup>71</sup> And the State took over from the divided and now shrunken established Church responsibility for the welfare of the poor in Scottish society.<sup>72</sup> This collapse of the Reformed model of an integrated Christian society had profound implications for the national life and identity of Scotland:

The achievements of the Free Church were, to be sure, substantial. None the less, very soon after the Disruption, the Free Church had indicated disenchantment with his national 'establishment' ideal. Despite his pleading, the Free Church began to perceive itself as a gathered Church of true believers. It relinquished ambition to act as a national Church for the Christian nurture of all inhabitants of Scotland, or for the universal dissemination of Christian communal teachings. Chalmers's godly commonwealth ideal now appeared moribund. The Disruption in 1843 had ultimately rendered his vision for Church and nation hopeless, and paved the way for the increase of secular and State authority over Scottish society.<sup>73</sup>

The Disruption of the Kirk may fairly be described as the most far-reaching single event of the century for Scotland. Until that point, the historic Reformed model of the nation as a godly commonwealth gave Scotland its national ethos. Reviewing a book on the history of nineteenth century Scotland, Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914 by Sydney and Olive Checkland<sup>74</sup>, Michael Fry wrote:

In 1832 anybody could identify the Scottish ethos. It was rooted in Calvinism, and Calvinist culture was as yet serious and fertile. Like any such culture it was also complex and full of tensions. But contradiction did not necessarily mean incoherence. On the contrary, whether people were

disputing theology or affairs of state, or such mundane matters as improving the schools, looking after the poor or reforming the town councils, they still could and did refer to a set of common values, arguing from and within them even to dissimilar conclusions.<sup>75</sup>

By the time of the First World War, when the presbyterian churches of the established Kirk and the now United Free Church were still separated, 'in religion, and in intellectual life generally, there was little left that could with conviction be labelled Scottish, and certainly no serious Calvinist culture', according to Fry.<sup>76</sup> While issue can and will be taken with this last judgement in the next chapter, the point is well made that in the era of the Disruption the Kirk was crippled as the dynamic force in generating Scotland's national identity and ethos, its Reformed style of imagining the national community as a godly commonwealth. Why should this have been the case?

Ecclesiastical and religious issues are, of course, central to understanding the departure of many Evangelicals from the established Kirk to form their own national church in exile, the Free Church of Scotland, in 1843. They asserted in the Claim of Right passed by the General Assembly in 1842 that they were resisting the claims of the State to intervene in internal Kirk affairs such as the creation of new parishes or the appointment of parish ministers, in the name of Christ, who alone was



the the King and Head of the Church.<sup>77</sup> They perceived the Disruption as a national question in as much as it concerned the national Church's relations with the state. However, the Disruption can also be understood in terms of a wider nineteenth century crisis of Scottish nationhood and identity in relation to the British state.

When Chalmers led the Evangelicals out of the Kirk on 1843, it marked not just the collapse of the Calvinist model of Scotland and the start of almost a hundred years of presbyterian denominational rivalry and disunity over church-state relations. It was also the ebbing of almost three hundred years of Scottish history in which the established Kirk had been the country's 'most comprehensive institution and bulwark of its culture.' As Stewart J. Brown has argued, Chalmers embodied the Reformed vision of the role of the Kirk in the life of the nation. The vision found expression in his own social ideal of a godly commonwealth 'with well-defined programmes for the reorganisation of the nation'. Such programmes of church extension and the parochial provision of local welfare and education offered the established Kirk a way of responding creatively to the immense social and spiritual needs of rapidly expanding urban populations, without listening to what Chalmers held to be the siren calls for state intervention to solve these problems. By supporting the Disruption and adhering to his view of church-state relations, Chalmers

was also caught in the tragedy of destroying his own work over many years. Without the national establishment of religion in one national church, embracing the whole community, he could not realise his own Christian vision of the nation as a godly commonwealth. But to achieve that ideal, Chalmers needed the support not only of the Scottish nation but also of the British state. It was not given:

He convinced a considerable portion of the Scottish nation (although not the British government) that the Establishment had to be made sufficient to provide religious and moral instruction to every inhabitant, not simply the wealthy or those with previous Christian conviction. For a time, it appeared he would realize his vision; but in the final event, the State refused to provide the endowments that were necessary to enable the Church to expand to the urban slums, and the movement collapsed. In truth, the British State ultimately had no intention of allowing the Church of Scotland to reassert the authority it had once held over Scottish society.<sup>78</sup>

There are many flaws in Chalmers' parish model of godly reform, especially in the way he accepted some of the economic, demographic and social welfare theories of his time.<sup>79</sup> As a high Tory, he was also hostile to the calls for greater democracy and workers rights coming from the Chartist and other radical movements of the time, supported as these movements were by the lone and prophetic voice within the established Church of the Reverend Patrick Brewster of Paisley Abbey (a figure to whom we shall return, as the advocate of emerging ideas of Christian social radicalism in the Reformed tradition

and the early exemplar of an alternative, liberating Christian paradigm of Scottish nationhood which we shall consider in the closing sections of chapter 5).<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, Chalmers' vision of the nation as a godly commonwealth even in an industrial age represents the last 'serious and fertile' attempt to understand and transform Scotland in terms of a Christian community. There were other Christian social reformers after Chalmers who were active in national affairs, some of them radical and democratic in outlook, like Patrick Brewster, but the comprehensive national rather than local or single-issue focus of their thought and action was often lacking, due to the absence of an intellectually credible and socially plausible model of church and nation in an age of massive social upheaval. This can be seen from Stewart Brown's verdict on the fate of Chalmers' vision of Scotland as a Christian nation:

Chalmers failed to realise his vision of the godly commonwealth. His life was, in one sense, a tragic disappointment. He lived long enough to witness the collapse of the Church Extension campaign of 1838, the breakup of the establishment in 1843, the rejection of his social ideal by the majority of the Free Church in 1845, and the failure of his final interdenominational Church Extension campaign by 1846. After his death in 1847, his godly commonwealth vision faded rapidly from the public imagination, lost amid the sectarian controversies of the later nineteenth century, and overshadowed by the new materialistic visions of capitalism and State socialism.<sup>81</sup>

It is significant that Brown sees the Disruption and Chalmers' passing as the fading from the public

imagination of the old Reformed way of imagining Scotland; as a nation in the Christian style of community, a godly commonwealth under the Word of God. Although many Scots continued to think and speak of their country as a Christian nation shaped by this theological model long after 1843, the social and intellectual reality was of a country moving in a progressively more secular direction. The Church of Scotland handed over its welfare and educational work to the State, in 1845 and 1872 respectively, in part because its local parishes were no longer seen as embracing the allegiance of society as a whole. Large sections of the nineteenth century Scottish population were now to be found within the denominations of disaffected presbyterians or in the immigrant Irish Roman Catholic community, or living outwith the influence of any church in poor urban, working class communities.<sup>82</sup> The Kirk and its other major presbyterian rivals, the Free Church and the United Presbyterians (a union of earlier secessions from the national Church), became increasingly preoccupied by denominational and doctrinal conflicts at home and missionary work abroad in the far flung corners of the British Empire. The fierce Victorian debates about whether the Kirk should be established by law or a voluntary body free of the State, and the growing alarm at the rise of critical study of the Bible among church scholars, these narrower, albeit legitimate ecclesiastical issues replaced the central concern of

Chalmers and the earlier Reformed tradition, both Moderate and Evangelical, Knoxian and Covenanting, to implement a unifying Christian national model in church and society.<sup>83</sup> The godly commonwealth ideal survived in much of the voluntary mission work and philanthropic effort that continued to characterize later nineteenth century Scottish church life (until the 1890s, according to Callum Brown).<sup>84</sup> However, as Olive Checkland has noted, the churches found themselves, 'in their efforts to attract and retain support, moving in the direction of a mixture of entertainment and welfare.' The Reformed model of 1560, re-vamped in 1843, found itself finally dumped in the Kailyard world of presbyterian popular entertainment.

In the Victorian and Edwardian decades after Chalmers and the Disruption, there was no serious theological and national rather than merely ecclesiastical and nostalgic vision and model of Scotland forthcoming from the Reformed tradition. The churches were increasingly seen to be reacting to rather than shaping the course of the nation's life and sense of national identity. Victorian Scots continued the Reformed tendency to transpose essentially secular questions about the nation's political, constitutional and cultural identity into the ecclesiastical key. Church politics continued to be a major issue in Scottish electoral and party politics after 1843. But this should not blind us to the fact that in the mid-nineteenth

century the Scottish Reformed tradition and model of the godly nation underwent a historic failure of theological and intellectual nerve.

The key institution in that model, the established Kirk within a godly commonwealth, broke apart under the conflicting pressures of trying to maintain its historic and confessional role as the national church in a changing society far removed from the homogeneous rural and burgh communities of Chalmers' youth. The new urban working class, with its large Irish Catholic and unchurched elements, the British State, governing according to alien Anglican and erastian constitutional norms, the numerically comparable presbyterian seceders, calling for disestablishment of the kirk, and the growing number of Scots who were slipping away from orthodox belief and worship, caught up in the Victorian and Darwinian crisis of faith, all these groups and many more were indifferent or hostile to the Church of Scotland. They rejected or simply ignored its spiritual responsibility for the whole nation and its historical role since the seventeenth century as the key national institution generating and guaranteeing a common sense of Scottish identity.

While the work of Callum Brown and other social historians has shown that Victorian working class church membership and participation in church life was at a much

higher level than has often been assumed, and that decline in church membership and attendance did not set in until the twentieth century<sup>85</sup>, the relative ecclesiastical and religious vitality of the late Victorian churches does not affect the argument of this thesis: the key church-nation relationship at the centre of the historic Reformed model of the Christian nation was altered fundamentally by the Disruption and its impact on the national institutional life of Scotland.

Subsequent Scottish Reformed contributions to Christian theological analysis of the national question lacked the rigour or comprehensiveness of the earlier vision. They tended to reduce questions of nationality and Christian faith to matters of individual conscience and preserving a national religious heritage. The intellectual challenge to refashion a Reformed theology and cultural model of nationhood in the light of modernity was abandoned for the more genteel study of 'the elements in patriotism and their general congruity with religious principle', as one Baird lecturer put it; or it was abandoned for the more sinister and disturbing protests from the Kirk in the 1920s about the threat presented to the 'Scottish race' and Protestant heritage by the 'Irish Menace' of the Catholic immigrant community, with its allegedly alien religion, politics and culture.<sup>86</sup> This preoccupation with the moral sentiment of patriotism and the preservation of a

mythical presbyterian racial identity, rather than a proper Calvinist concern with the theological meaning of nationhood in relation to the times, reflects the scale of the crisis of the Christian intellect and loss of theological nerve which occurred in Victorian Scotland (albeit at a time when the Scottish Churches were holding their own in membership and church activities until the 1890s, as Callum Brown has shown).

The Church was not alone in this loss of nerve about its own Scottish traditions in mid-nineteenth century Scotland. The work of George Davie and Marinell Ash in analysing the fate of national traditions in education and historiography after 1843 highlights this loss of nerve.<sup>87</sup> The shock waves of the Disruption swept through Scotland's other national institutions as well, including education and local government. The resulting presbyterian rivalries seriously weakened the capacity of the Scottish universities and scholarly clubs, with their traditions of democratic intellectualism and national historiography, to withstand the allure of English models of education, history and culture that were by the mid-century conquering the globe on the back of British imperial expansion. The Calvinist loss of nerve about a modern Scottish identity also contributed to the retreat of the Victorian popular imagination into escapist fantasy about Scotland's past. Rather than face up to the harsh and conflicting realities of urban, industrial



Scotland in the light of a critical intellect and Christian mind, a number of Free Kirk churchmen contributed to the growth of what became known as the kailyard school of popular fiction.

Ignoring the contemporary social drama of slum and factory, novels and stories in this genre were set in an illusory Brigadoon world of quaint rural parishes that provided the setting for sentimental and moralising plots 'as seen through the windows of the Free Church manse'. It was Free Church ministers like S. R. Crockett and Ian Maclaren who were among the most prominent and successful writers of such fiction, encouraged by another Free Church minister, W. Robertson Nicoll, in his popular religious newspaper, British Weekly. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Kailyard has been described as 'a literary movement that adhered to the theological doctrines of the Free Church' as well as the public's lucrative taste for such a distorted invention of Scotland's social and religious past:

Churchgoing, decent rational practical Christianity, are the staples of kailyard society. Deviations are rapidly punished, and unspoken but vividly suggested "ruin" in distant atheist cities breaks emigrant children, who may return to the kailyard only to be reunited with a dying parent, or to shed remorseful tears over his grave. The kailyard's historical sense is vividly suggested here: the Disruption of 1843 and the splitting of the Scottish Church into Established and Free is used as a source comedy rather than as an explanation for any weakening in Scottish Christian life at home or abroad. The decline in churchgoing in the cities is seen in terms of contrast to the abiding certainties of the village. All-

pervasively, there is little attempt to relate the exceptional (the village) to the representative, majority experience (the cities).<sup>88</sup>

The tragic irony is that such Free Church doctrines once inspired Reformed Christians in Scotland to analyse and transform urban industrial reality, not escape from it. Thomas Chalmers' window looked out onto the slums and crowded streets of the east end of Glasgow, not Thrums (J. M. Barrie's classic Kailyard stories, A Window in Thrums (1889), based on his mother's recollections of bygone Kirriemuir).

#### Alternative Endings?

After the Disruption, there was one last attempt to implement an amended version of the Reformed model of Scottish nationhood. If the national Kirk was central to this model, then the great national question after 1843 became the reunion of the divided presbyterian parts of that historic national institution. This provides yet one more example of national questions being transposed into the ecclesiastical key. The debate developed into one over the establishment of the Church of Scotland. Although Chalmers and the Evangelicals had left the Auld Kirk adhering to the principle of the legal establishment of the national Church, within a few decades many in the Free Church had swung over to support for disestablishment amid the bitter denominational rivalries of the period. Free Church leaders like Rainy 'saw

disestablishment as a necessary preliminary to the unity of both church and nation in Scotland, a step on the path to national greatness.<sup>89</sup> This is a complete reversal of Thomas Chalmers' model and argument only a few decades before, where a dynamic Church establishment was seen as the vital step on the path to national greatness. What is even more remarkable, though, is the way in which the seventeenth century Covenanting emphasis on church questions as the key to national identity is retained, despite all the contradictory twists and turns of Victorian ecclesiastical politics.<sup>90</sup>

When the presbyterian churches were finally reunited in one national Church of Scotland in 1929, the contentious issue of establishment had been resolved through mutual compromise; and a satisfactory form of wording on church-state relations in the new Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland which formed the basis of the union with the more voluntarist United Free Church. The belief that the recovery of a truly national Kirk would restore the fortunes of the nation still ran deep:

In 1929 Re-union took place. Once again the nation had a church which was recognisably Scotland's Kirk... overall it seemed that the Kirk's destiny had been restored. So much so that one commentator could aver, "The re-united Church is a national symbol. One may even doubt whether there could be a Scotland without it."<sup>91</sup>

The Kirk after 1843 and 1929 may have remained a national symbol but the Scotland of the later nineteenth and

twentieth centuries could certainly get on with being a nation without it. In the words of George Davie, author of seminal studies on Scottish intellectual and cultural history in this period, '...the ten-year struggle between Church and State over the democraticisation of the Church of Scotland terminated in a spectacular secession, which lost the Church its central place in Scottish society...'.<sup>92</sup> It is a position that the Church has never recovered, contrary to many cherished ideals about 'the Kirk and her Scotland' and the other triumphal memories of the Reformed model that still shape Christian thinking on Scottish identity in the late twentieth century. Peter Bisset, an expert on church growth and decline in Scotland in the years since 1929, articulates this kind of viewpoint in a recent study on that theme, significantly entitled The Kirk and Her Scotland. Commenting on the continuing link between the Kirk and national identity after 1945, he writes:

Part of the argument of this book has been that the Kirk in Scotland's story has been the custodian of a dream. It has been the keeper of the soul of Scotland. In some sense it has been the focus of Scottish identity. So in the aftermath of war the Kirk took its place in the rebuilding of the nation. That was certainly the vision of Church Extension as it took the Kirk into the midst of new housing areas. A Scotland which did not have a Kirk in its midst was inconceivable.<sup>93</sup>

Bisset faithfully describes here the way in which the Kirk has continued to think of Scotland into the post-war period. But it is the argument of this thesis

that the Church of Scotland is operating with the residual ideas of the historic Reformed model of a Christian nation which no longer reflect the social realities of modern Scotland or the problems facing Scottish nationhood and identity in the 1990s and beyond.

Something decisive and lasting happened in 1843. To adapt a phrase the historian Marinell Ash used to describe the fate of Scottish historical studies in the nineteenth century, it marks the strange death of the godly commonwealth, that Calvinist model of Scotland which had helped shape its national identity since 1560. The Calvinist contribution to that identity should be neither exaggerated as in the earlier fashion of Protestant polemicists or dismissed, as in the modern vogue of secular critics. As George Davie's studies of the democratic intellect have sought to establish, the distinctive metaphysical ethos of Scottish national identity owes as much to the secular institutions and traditions of thought in education and law as it does to the Church and its confession.<sup>94</sup> It has never been possible to reduce Scottish national identity to religious, ecclesiastical or theological terms alone. Throughout Scotland's history, national consciousness has developed out of the complex interaction of religious and secular elements.

However, until 1843, the national Kirk remained a

central player in the national drama, with an institutional and intellectual involvement in the secular as well as the spiritual life of Scotland. This cultural involvement in national life gave a social plausibility to the godly vision of Scottish nationhood. In the same way, the Calvinist theology of the sovereignty of God and the Lordship of Christ over the whole of life, and the prophetic autonomy of his Kirk in relation to the State, gave the godly vision its intellectual appeal and credibility. By the mid-nineteenth century such plausibility and credibility were in decline.

It could be argued that such a development was inevitable, given the whole movement of Western thought and culture towards a much more secular outlook in the last hundred and fifty years. How could a Calvinist culture be sustained in a modern, pluralist society in nineteenth or twentieth century Europe? Just such a successful Calvinist rapprochement with modernity took place in another small northern European nation with a Reformed tradition in this same period when the Scottish Calvinist programme of modernisation collapsed after 1843. In the decades when the heirs of the godly vision were abandoning it in Scotland, their fellow Calvinist luminaries were re-casting it in appropriate modern terms in the Netherlands.

Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, a distinguished

Dutch historian and statesman, published in 1847, the year of Chalmers' death, a series of his lectures on the philosophical origins of the French Revolution, called Revolution and Unbelief, that were to form the intellectual foundation for a nascent Dutch neo-Calvinist political and social movement.<sup>95</sup> In 1848 Groen van Prinsterer paid tribute to Thomas Chalmers as an example of a Christian who had pursued the kind of Christian social vision in the modern world which he himself was advocating.<sup>96</sup> There the similarity ends. While Chalmers was caught up in the tragedy of fatally dividing the one means of realising this vision, the national Kirk, Groen van Prinsterer and his successor in the nascent Calvinist movement, Abraham Kuyper, rethought their Reformed model of 'the Christian nation in the Protestant sense', in a neo-Calvinist accommodation with the secular and pluralist terms of contemporary Dutch society and Western thought.<sup>97</sup> They saw the need for Christian schools, colleges, a university, newspapers and journals, trade union movement and political party, to ensure the survival of their Calvinist worldview and social principles in a modern democracy. They established their own vertical social sector or pillar in a pluralist society similarly divided among Catholic and liberal pillars.

Kuyper went on to become Prime Minister of the Netherlands in the opening years of this century and his

movement continues to play a vital part in the nation's intellectual and social life to this day, through its distinctive Christian educational, cultural and political institutions within the mainstream of Dutch society and government. The Netherlands, with its very different political, social and economic history, resolved the tensions of secularization and cultural pluralism in European society in a very different way from that of Scotland. But the Dutch comparison serves to show that it was perfectly possible for Reformed Christians within the same Calvinist tradition in northern Europe to keep their theological nerve and to conceive of their faith shaping the whole of their nation's life in the modern era - and not just ecclesiastical, charitable and missionary affairs, as was increasingly the case in Scotland after the strange death of the godly commonwealth after 1843.

For our purposes, what is highly significant about this Dutch comparison is the central place that Dutch national identity had in the concerns of this neo-Calvinist movement. Calvinism had been the official state religion of the Dutch Republic from its establishment in 1581 to the occupation of the country by French Revolutionary forces in 1795. Having been associated with the early struggle for independence from Spain, Calvinism was in this period virtually synonymous with Dutch patriotism and nationalism. With the



development of a more liberal and secular constitutional monarchy in the nineteenth century, the Dutch Calvinists experienced a crisis in their sense of nationhood, faced with the involvement of both the secular liberal and Catholic Dutch populations in national life. Groen van Prinsterer asked the fundamental question for any Reformed approach to nationhood in the modern era: how could Calvinism continue to undergird or influence the Dutch sense of nationhood when it formed only one religious community and intellectual worldview in a pluralist Dutch society and when the liberal constitution had ended the formal relationship between the Calvinist church and the state?:

... the confessionalists (orthodox Calvinists) were never able to destroy the Liberal idea of the "neutral" state and it was to cause important divisions within the Protestant camp for many years. In accommodating his position to this perplexing problem and the reality of the constitutional framework, Groen was admitting that the concept of an organic Christian state in the formal sense was lost, that separation of church and state was too firmly established to be discarded.... Since the state could not act as arbiter between church and society, the multitude of Christian organisations and associations would have to assume the responsibility. From this point the orthodox Calvinists moved to the idea of the "Christian nation in the Protestant sense." It was hoped that by advocating this position the most debilitating and destructive aspects of the humanist-rationalist revolution could be met and dealt with while still adhering to the constitutional framework of 1848.<sup>98</sup>

This is the seed that germinated into the later neo-Calvinist doctrine of sphere sovereignty under Abraham Kuyper<sup>99</sup>, in which a range of autonomous

Christian social, economic, cultural and political organisations were developed to allow for a distinct Reformed community within the 'zuilen'<sup>100</sup>, the vertical social 'pillars' or blocs dividing Dutch society into distinct religious-philosophical communities. In this way the Calvinists were able to maintain an experience of the 'Christian nation in the Protestant sense' within their own national social institutions, while accepting the social and constitutional realities of a pluralist society.

This new Calvinist approach enabled the Dutch Reformed model of Christian nationhood to retain its cultural and political dimensions in the modern era, without abandoning them for narrower ecclesiastical concerns, as the Scottish Reformed model increasingly did after 1843. While secularization now affects the Netherlands along with other Western societies, and has weakened this 'verzuiling' system in Dutch society<sup>101</sup>, a distinctive Dutch Reformed model of Christian nationhood has survived in that secular, pluralist society into the late twentieth century. Today it has successfully taken on an ecumenical identity, in alliance with the parallel Dutch Catholic political and social tradition, under the banner of Christian Democracy.<sup>102</sup> It remains an influential and intellectually coherent although diverse movement in Dutch national life, playing a leading role in the wider European Christian Democracy movement.

## Conclusion

This brief comparison with the fate of the Dutch neo-Calvinist model of Christian nationhood in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, serves to show not that a similar development could or should have taken place in Scotland (the historical and political contexts were and are very different) but that an intellectual, theological and practical renewal of the northern European Calvinist tradition in its approach to nationhood was possible, faced with the end of the old alliance of state Calvinism and nationhood in Protestant Christendom and the challenges of modernity.<sup>103</sup> The Dutch example serves as a source of emerging ideas and a historical exemplar within the wider Western paradigm of Christian nationhood at a time when the once dominant ideas of the Scottish Reformed model of church and nation were becoming residual.

The Reformed model of Scotland's national identity as a godly commonwealth stands in the paradigmatic tradition and contextual theology of Christian nationhood. It imagined Scotland in its own biblical images, sometimes with prophetic imagination but ultimately with that royal consciousness identified by Brueggemann, defending the status quo in a triumphal but static religion and establishment. The dominance of the Reformed model was challenged and ultimately displaced when the nation itself embraced a new secular outlook

without abandoning the social and moral values embedded in its national identity through four centuries of Calvinism.

While the once dominant doctrinal and confessional ideas within the Reformed model became increasingly residual in the imagined community of late Victorian and twentieth century Scottish nationhood, its ethical content took on a new prominence in national life. If the national Church could no longer provide the key 'image of communion' for Scottish nationhood, after the Disruption and with growing secularization, then many Christians and secular Scots came to believe that its biblical and Calvinist ethics offered an alternative model for imagining Scotland as a Christian nation. But it would be a very different kind of Christian Scotland. The nation and its public institutions would become the church, and practical Christianity would become its gospel.

#### Notes

1. Richard L. Greaves, Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation: Studies in the Thought of John Knox (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Christian University Press and Eerdmans, 1980), p.111.
2. Knox, Works, 3:192, cited in Greaves, pp.111-2.

3. Michael Lynch, Scotland: A New History (London: Century, 1991), pp.265-6.

4. On the Scottish social and political background to Knox's use of the covenant concept, see Roger Mason, 'Covenant and Commonweal: the Language of Politics in Reformation Scotland', in Norman Macdougall, (ed.), Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), pp.97-126; and Greaves, pp. 114-25.

5. John Knox, 'Letter to the Commonality of Scotland', in Charles Villa-Vicencio, Between Christ and Caesar: Classic and Contemporary Texts on Church and State (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1986), p.84.

6. Ibid., p.81: Sources for this and above quotation, The Works of John Knox, ed. David Laing (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1846-1864), 'The text has been modified to conform to modern usage.'

7. David Stevenson, The Covenanters: The National Covenant and Scotland, Saltire Pamphlets New Series 11 (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 1988), p.56. The regime that seized power in 1648, known significantly as the Kirk party, was committed to 'the building of a truly godly society' but believed that the nobility, central to the national Covenanting movement in 1638, had betrayed the cause and would require to be purged. The godly nation had become the sectarian nation of the elect, see pp.55-8; this sectarian tendency in the Covenanting version of the Reformed model took its most extreme form in the Cameronian group among the later Covenanters of the Killing Time, see pp. 59-69.

8. Greaves, p.59; on the role of church discipline in creating a godly society, see pp. 56-60.

9. Roger Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Roger Mason (ed.), Scotland and England 1286-1815 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp.64-5.

10. Ibid., p.66.

11. Ibid., see pp.66-71, where the 'Rough Wooing' of Scotland in the 1540s was seen by some English unionist propagandists as a Protestant crusade; p.67, '... the barrage of propaganda which accompanied the military campaign is ample testimony to the heightened expectations engendered - particularly, but not exclusively, among Englishmen - by the prospect of the creation of a Protestant British monarchy.'

12. Ibid., pp.66-7.

13. Arthur H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979).
14. Ibid., p.11.
15. Ibid.
16. Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, Alexander Murdoch, New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, n.d.), pp.34-5.
17. Ibid., p.35.
18. Ibid.
19. William Croft Dickinson (ed.), John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland 2 Vols. (London: Thomas Nelson, 1950). See also David Laing (ed.), The Works of John Knox 6 Vols. 1846-64 (Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1966).
20. Arthur H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI, pp.15-6.
21. Greaves, pp.203-16.
22. Ibid., p.204.
23. Ibid., p.215, Knox 'is not so loyal to a Scottish monarch that he will countenance obedience if the sovereign is idolatrous. Luther's theory of obedience is much more conducive to the growth of nationalism than Knox's. The overt nationalism that characterizes Luther's appeal to the German princes finds no counterpart in Knox's Appellation to the Scottish nobility, where the emphasis is on active resistance to idolaters as a divine command. Even the common people, because of their covenant with God, must actively resist an idolatrous ruler, even a Scottish one.' On Luther and German nationalism, see A. G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1976).
24. Greaves, pp.215-6.
25. Ibid., p.215.
26. Arthur Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', p.35.
27. Ibid., pp.35-6.
28. Arthur H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI, p.21.

29. Ibid., pp.25-6.

30. Ibid., pp.103-6, for the propaganda activities of James Maxwell; p.103, 'no Scot at this time ever pushed this commitment to an imperial Britain to more extreme conclusions than did James Maxwell... At the union of the crowns, Maxwell's study of prophecy became particularly intensified, and shortly afterward he followed James south to the seat of the new Britain.... and for nearly a decade and a half wrote voluminously and almost entirely on behalf of the British age and "the auncient primitive forme of church, such as it was in the dayes of glorious Constantine the great".'

31. Ibid., p.26.

32. Ibid., p.97-102.

33. Roger Mason, 'Covenant and Commonweal: the language of politics in Reformation Scotland'.

34. See J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp.151-77, 'The Ideals of the Reformers', on the reformers' social vision; Richard Greaves, Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation, pp.183-202, for 'Knox's Social Awareness: the Problems of Poverty and Educational Reform'; and Ronald S. Wallace, Calvin, Geneva and the Reformation (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988), pp. 27-128, for a study of Calvin's concern for social reform.

35. John Highet, 'Trends in Attendance and Membership', in Peter Brierley and Fergus Macdonald, Prospects for Scotland: From a Census of the Churches in 1984 (Edinburgh: National Bible Society for Scotland and Marc Europe, 1985), p.12. Noting the changes in the religious structure of modern Scotland, with the decline in membership of the Church of Scotland, Highet comments, 'For the churchman with a Scottish historical sense, as well as the sociologist, such a development would call for reflection. Scotland has been, for many centuries, a Presbyterian nation culturally as well as in terms of her predominant religious faith. Much in her traditional values - secular as well as spiritual - stems from her Presbyterian moulding: much more than (for example) what some critics like to describe dyslogistically and not always justifiably as her "suffocating Calvinism". Even if by this change she loses nothing religiously, one might ask oneself: for how long will her culture keep that Presbyterian flavour as this new situation prevails and, perhaps, gathers momentum?' We shall return to this analysis of the contemporary fate of the 'Presbyterian nation' chapters 4 and 5.



36. Murray G. H. Pittock, The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present (London: Routledge, 1991).
37. Ibid., pp.30-1.
38. David Stevenson, The Covenanters, pp.83-4. Stevenson argues that questions of national identity, raised by the absentee Stewart kings in London, were central to the development of the Covenanting movement and mythology, pp.3-22.
39. On the Reformed and presbyterian element in the formation and later development of the Scottish tradition of democratic intellectualism, see George Davie, The Democratic Intellect (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961).
40. Ian Henderson, Power Without Glory: A Study in Ecumenical Politics (London: Hutchinson, 1967), p.78.
41. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1970), p.199.
42. Michael Lynch, Scotland: A New History, p.256.
43. Ibid, p.243.
44. See Graham Walker, Tom Gallagher, 'Protestantism and Scottish Politics', in Walker, Gallagher (eds.), Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp.86-111.
45. Lynch, p.256.
46. See, for example, David Stevenson, The Scottish Revolution 1637-44: The Triumph of the Covenanters (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), pp.276-298.
47. Quoted in A. Ian Dunlop, William Carstares and the Kirk by Law Established (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1967), p.115.
48. Ibid.
49. Jack Brand, The National Movement in Scotland (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1978), p.128.
50. Monica Clough, The Field of Thistles (Edinburgh: Macdonald, 1983), p.163.
51. J. F. Ferrier, Observations on Church and State (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1848).



52. Ibid., p.8.

53. Ibid., p.10.

54. Ibid., p.11.

55. Ibid., p.15-6.

56. Ibid., p.18.

57. James Begg, A Violation of the Treaty of Union the Main Origin of our Ecclesiastical Divisions and Other Evils: A Second Address to the People of Scotland (Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter, 1871), p.4, 'Our ecclesiastical divisions in Scotland, the parents of so many evils, have been caused mainly by a deliberate violation of the Treaty of Union on the part of England.... This is a historical fact beyond doubt, and the main object of our present address is to prove and illustrate it.'

58. H. J. Hanham, Scottish Nationalism (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp.74-7. 'The first Scottish nationalist agitation began early in January 1850 with an outburst by one of the leaders of the Free Church, the Reverend James Begg of Edinburgh.... Begg's solution in 1850 was the reconstitution of a Scottish government headed by the Secretary of State and the strengthening of the Scottish representation at Westminster. But he was willing to contemplate the creation of a subordinate Scottish parliament.', pp.74-5. Hanham notes, p.77, that 'the first effective nationalist movement, the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, or Scottish Rights Society' was formed during 1853 and 1854 with Begg's support. David Bebbington has shown that Begg was not alone in expressing church support for the National Association, in his article, 'National Feeling in Wales and Scotland', in Stuart Mews, (ed.) Religion and National Identity, Studies in Church History Volume 18 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), p.500 : 'He was the first to propose Scottish devolution. He was not alone. The Witness, the free church journal, supported the association and John Fleming, professor of natural science at the free church college at Edinburgh, was one of the two ministers apart from Begg sitting on the general committee.'

59. This classification is taken from a simplified version of H. Richard Niebuhr's classic fivefold typology in Christ and Culture (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1951), offered by Robert Webber, The Secular Saint (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1979), pp.75-165. Here, the Cameronian Covenanters are seen as a separatist type of the Christ-Nation relationship in the Reformed model,

separating themselves in the name of Christ from the faithless majority of the nation as the true remnant of the covenant nation of Scotland. The Moderates are taken as an example of the identification made between Christ and the established, hierarchical political and social order of the nation, with their concern for social integration around the national Church and its moral influence in Scottish national life. And, thirdly, the Evangelicals are taken as an example of the type where Christ is seen as transforming the whole life of the nation, supremely in Thomas Chalmers' programme of church extension, mission and parish-based social reform.

60. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, p.241.

61. Ibid., p.242-3.

62. J. D. Douglas, Light in the North: the Story of the Scottish Covenanters (Exeter: Paternoster, 1964), p.152.

63. Anand Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p.61. Chitnis states that the key notions for the Moderates were integration and social control, p.59: 'The key notion is integration.... They believed, in common with eighteenth-century thinkers, that man was social by nature and that religion was an indispensable sanction for social stability and effective government. The intimate and inseparable connection of church and society ensured social control....' The Moderates were also involved in the eighteenth century debate about the right of the Scots to have militias, an issue that became a focus for Scottish patriotism and questions of national identity in Enlightenment Scotland, particularly the tension between British and Scottish identities in what Nicholas Phillipson has termed the 'concentric identities' of Scottish national consciousness in this period. See, John Robertson, The Scottish Enlightenment and the Military Issue (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), ch.3, 'David Hume and the Moderate Literati', pp.60-97.

64. Ibid., p.68.

65. Ibid., pp.61-2.

66. Anand Chitnis, pp.43-74. See Aladair MacIntyre, Whose Justice? Which Rationality? (London: Duckworth, 1988), pp.209-80, for a study of the presbyterian intellectual context and achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment.

67. See Stewart J. Brown, Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

68. Ibid., p.83.

69. Ibid., pp.91-151.

70. Ibid., p.151, 'Chalmers's eight years in Glasgow had ultimately elevated him to a new height of influence. Despite the conflicts and failures, his achievements had been significant. He had assimilated his rural parish community ideal to new urban conditions, gained the participation of a considerable body of the Glasgow upper and middle classes in his parish ideal... and, finally, through the Christian and Civic Economy, transformed his St John's failure into success, and begun to extend his influence as a communitarian social reformer throughout Britain.' On Chalmers' Evangelical approach to social transformation, see also Mary T. Furgol, 'Chalmers and Poor Relief: An Incidental Sideline?', in A. C. Cheyne, (ed.) The Practical and the Pious: Essays on Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1985), pp.115-29.

71. Stewart J. Brown, Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth, p.347, 'Amid the triumph of the Free Church growth and consolidation, then, Chalmers's vision of the godly commonwealth, which had been revived at the Disruption, was again fading. The Free Church, he had believed, was to have been the means through which the godly commonwealth would finally be achieved.... But now the increasing influence of the revivalists and Voluntaries in the Free Church was destroying his comprehensive plan; their principles, he insisted, would limit the Free Church ministry to those with previously held religious convictions, to the neglect of the irreligious and immoral.' See also ch.7, 'The Vision Fades', pp.350-79.

72. See Lynch, pp.392-4.; and Stewart Mechie, The Church and Social Development in Scotland 1780-1870 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp.64-80.

73. S. J. Brown, p.349.

74. (London: Edward Arnold, 1984).

75. The Scotsman, 21 April, 1984.

76. Ibid.

77. For the Claim of Right document, see Taylor Innes, The Law of Creeds in Scotland (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1902), pp.176-83. For the constitutional debate surrounding the Disruption, see Innes, above, and also Rolf Sjolinder, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1907-1921 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962), pp.26-48; Harold J. Laski, Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty (London:

Allen & Unwin, 1968), pp.27-68; Francis Lyall, Of Presbyters and Kings: Church & State in the Law of Scotland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1980), pp.46-53.

78. S. J. Brown, p.373.

79. See, for example, Boyd Hilton, 'Chalmers as Political Economist', in A. C. Cheyne, The Practical and the Pious, pp.141-56.

80. For the contrast between Chalmers' and Brewster's approach to political and social reform, see Donald C. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945 (New York, New York: Peter Lang, 1987), p.184-5.; and Stewart Mechie, p.113.

81. S.J. Brown, p.378.

82. See Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730 (London: Methuen, 1987), for the patterns of religious affiliation and pluralism in nineteenth century Scotland, pp.22-168.

83. See Sjolinder, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland, pp.49-104; Andrew L. Drummond, The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900 (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1978), pp.1-125; A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1983).

84. Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland, ch. 6 'The "social question" and the crisis for religion, 1890-1929', pp.169-208. See also a comprehensive study of the voluntary philanthropic agencies that continued to embody the godly commonwealth ideal after the Disruption, Olive Checkland, Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), Part II, 'The Philanthropy of Piety', pp.29-102, including church initiatives to foster national piety, home missionary work, and the role of piety in medical and temperance work. As Checkland says of 'Piety as a Programme', p.30: 'The Scotland of Victoria's reign saw a remarkable phenomenon, namely the attempt by the Church of Scotland and the other churches in Scotland to stay the tide of secularism and to recall the nation to God and to his worship. In this the philanthropists (both clerical and lay) were the driving force. By an extraordinary range of initiatives they sought to resist the incipient secularism of the industrial age and to create, perhaps in a somewhat renovated form, a life in which the Christian religion was the principal part. But in so doing they found

themselves, in their efforts to attract and retain support, moving in the direction of a mixture of entertainment and welfare.'

85. See C. Brown, pp.152-68, 249-256.

86. See Stewart J. Brown, 'The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism and the Union of 1929', The Scottish Church History Society Records Vol. XXIV Part I (1990), pp.77-96, esp. pp.91-3.

87. George Davie, The Democratic Intellect; and Marinell Ash, The Strange Death of Scottish History (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head, 1980).

88. Ian Campbell, Kailyard: A New Assessment (Edinburgh: Ramsey Head. 1981), pp.14-5.

89. David Bebbington, 'National feeling in Wales and Scotland', in Mews, p.500.

90. See n.83 above.

91. Peter Bisset, The Kirk and Her Scotland (Edinburgh: Handsel Press & British Church Growth Association, 1986), p.5, quoting J. K. Reid, Church and Nation (London, 1960), p.173.

92. George Davie, The Crisis in the Democratic Intellect (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1986), p.ii.

93. Bisset, p.38.

94. George Davie, The Democratic Intellect, 'Introductory Essay', p.xi-xx; p.xi-ii, 'Hence from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, the distinctive code regulating the Scottish way of life was based not simply on a religious separation but on a distinctive blend of the secular and the sacred. It may be argued, moreover, that, under post-Union conditions, it was the secular component rather than the sacred which was chiefly responsible for the continuing foreignness of the Scottish ethos.... the ratiocinative approach of Parliament House, looking as it did to Roman and Continental law, was out of line with the inherited English practice; and still more alien and uncongenial was an educational system which, combining the democracy of the Kirk-elders with the intellectualism of the advocates, made expertise in metaphysics the condition of the open door of social advancement.'

95. See A. J. van Dijk, Groen Van Prinsterer's Lectures on Unbelief and Revolution (Jordan Station, Ontario: Wedge, 1989), for the English translation of these lectures, and a contextual commentary on the text.



96. Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, Lectures Eight and Nine from Unbelief and Revolution (Amsterdam: The Groen van Prinsterer Fund, 1975), p.viii-ix, where Groen is cited in an 1848 serial as quoting Thomas Chalmers' 'economic reforms in the industrial towns of Scotland' as an example of a 'recent movement for humanitarian reform' owing 'less to liberalism than to the faith of persevering Christians'.

97. For a study of this movement, see the doctoral thesis of Steven Meyer, Calvinism and the Rise of the Protestant Political Movement in the Netherlands (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1979); for the life of Abraham Kuyper, see Frank Vanden Berg, Abraham Kuyper (St Catherine's, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1978; for Kuyper's political theology, see McKendree R. Langley, The Practice of Political Spirituality: Epis odes from the Political Career of Abraham Kuyper 1879-1918 (Jordan Station, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1984); for Abraham Kuyper's own neo-Calvinist social and political thought, see his Stone Foundation Lectures at Princeton University, 1898, published as Lectures on Calvinism (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1970); for the contemporary Dutch neo-Calvinist political movement, see R. E. M. Irving, The Christian Democratic Parties of Western Europe (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), pp.192-216, and Programme of Basic Principles published by the Christian Democratic Appeal, the Dutch ecumenical Christian Democratic party (The Hague, nd.).

98. Meyer, p. 79.

99. See Kuyper, Lectures on Calvinism, pp.96-9; Meyer, pp.268-78.

100. Meyer, p.1-37.

101. Irving, pp.203-216.

102. De Groei Naar Het CDA: Momenten en impressies uit dertien bewogen jaren (The Hague: Wetenschappelijk Instituut CDA, 1980), a study in Dutch of the process of cooperation and union among the Reformed and Catholic political parties in the Netherlands, forming the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA). See also Christian Political Options, published in English by the main neo-Calvinist party, the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) founded by Abraham Kuyper, in 1979, on their 100th Anniversary (The Hague: Dr. A. Kuyperstichting, 1979), as a policy review of their Christian political philosophy prior to merger in the CDA. A contemporary statement of CDA philosophy can be found in its Programme of Basic Principles, centred on the core principles of justice, differentiated responsibility, solidarity and stewardship

in public policy and government which draw in part on the Reformed neo-Calvinist political thinking of Kuyper and his successors in the ARP.

103. Both the Dutch Reformed Church and the Church of Scotland underwent a series of disruptions and secessions during the course of the nineteenth century. On the effects of this on Dutch church and national life, see Meyer, pp.38-155. For a Dutch-Scottish comparison, see J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p.353. Burleigh sees a connection between the Calvinist reform movements in both Scotland and the Netherlands in this period: '... it is significant that the Scottish Disruption had contemporaneous parallels on the continent of Europe. Seen in this perspective it appears as part of a general struggle for a revival of religion, particularly of evangelical religion, against rationalist and legalist obstacles. In Holland in 1886 Dr. Abraham Kuyper headed an orthodox secession from the theologically liberalizing Dutch National Church.'

The Secular Model of a Christian Nation

In the last chapter we argued that the Reformed model of Scotland as a Christian nation had retained many of the key characteristics of the theological paradigm of Scottish nationhood developed in medieval Christendom. It continued to imagine Scottish nationhood as one Christian society, a corpus Christianum, where church and state were in uneasy alliance to further the interests of Scotland as a chosen nation under a triumphal christology of Christ the King. However, we noted the ambivalence of the Reformed model as to whether an autonomous Scotland or an imperial Britain offered the optimum boundary and national identity for that elect nationhood. The Reformed model's dominant idea of national godliness made it vulnerable to such a dilemma in a way that the Catholic model's dominant idea of national freedom did not, for most of its history.

We also noted the tendency of the Reformed model to transpose national questions into ecclesiastical ones and so turn the political nation into a church-nation modelled self-consciously on the Old Testament elect nation of Israel. This led to a devaluing of the national political and constitutional dimension in the Reformed model during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; except to the extent that it raised questions



of church-state relations and the constitutional standing of the national Church. In this Reformed model the national Kirk was seen as central to the Christian identity of the Scottish nation. Indeed, it was seen as central to the national identity of Scotland, and ultimately more important to Scottish nationhood than the Scottish parliament, as is evident at the Union of Parliaments of 1707, with its accompanying act of security for the presbyterian Church of Scotland.

We have also argued that the Reformed model of Christian nationhood underwent a profound and damaging crisis at the Disruption of 1843, as did the nation as a whole, such was the national Church's significance for national life after 1707. As Michael Fry has observed, writing in his political history of modern Scotland, after 1843 Scotland became a different country:

Instead of an undisputed national Church, Scotland now had three forms of presbyterianism, with the established one enjoying the allegiance of only a minority. She thus possessed no longer a single institution which could represent the character, the conscience, the soul of the nation, and no touchstone for the process of social and political renewal that was bound to continue. So the Disruption turned out also the most important event in the whole of Scotland's nineteenth century history, overshadowing even the Reform Act in its repercussions. A great national institution, indeed the most essential of all, was broken up and a fundamental element of Scottish identity destroyed. It had survived the Union largely because of the Kirk. The political remnants of the old Scotland were decrepit, but that did not matter so much when the Church offered something of a surrogate in its civil roles. After 1843 they could no longer be fulfilled - the minister, once an administrator, an arm of the state, a prop of

the social order, was now just a pastor and preacher. His supervision of local affairs could not continue and his duties were taken over by others. Thus the Kirk ceased to play a central role in the country's life, becoming a mere denomination instead of being fully established at all levels. This was a matter of supreme importance since after 1832 Scotland was failing to emerge as an effective political community. In many ways the only guarantee of her distinctive character lay in her survival as a religious community. In reality her society became increasingly secular. The middle and working classes were to raise themselves into independent, sectional, centrifugal forces as their common Scottish inheritance of presbyterianism dissolved.<sup>1</sup>

Fry's interpretation of the national significance of the Disruption is fundamental to the argument of our thesis at this point. If Fry is correct, as we believe he is, in asserting that the break-up of the national Kirk had profound consequences for nineteenth century Scottish nationhood<sup>2</sup>, then we must also ask what happened to the paradigmatic tradition of Christian nationhood as a consequence of the Disruption. Did the failure of the Reformed model of Scotland as a 'religious community', the godly nation, after 1843, also mean the end of any coherent attempt to imagine Scotland in Christian terms?

Fry suggests that the middle and working classes lost their common presbyterian inheritance as Scottish society became increasingly secular. But is this so? It was certainly argued in chapter 3 that the Scottish Calvinist tradition developed no new creative political theological response to the national question after the

mid-nineteenth century, in contrast to Dutch neo-Calvinism which developed a new political theology and set of national Christian lay institutions to replace the Dutch Reformed Church's national role. But the godly commonwealth vision survived in attenuated form in the Victorian passion for voluntary philanthropy and home mission work which continued and in many ways flourished after the Disruption.<sup>3</sup> And Victorian Scots, including significant numbers in the skilled and 'respectable' working class, retained high levels of church membership and attendance until the end of the century, as Callum Brown has shown.<sup>4</sup>

It can be argued that in these kinds of way Scotland remained a religious community after 1843. But that is to miss the force of Fry's argument and the perspective of this thesis. They are both concerned with the Christian meaning of Scottish nationhood rather than the prevalence of religious beliefs and practice in Scottish society. These are related but distinct issues. It is the explicitly theological and comprehensively national ecclesiastical nature of the Reformed model of Christian nationhood that declined after 1843. It is in that very particular sense that Scotland became a more secular nation after the Disruption. The Reformed model became less and less a source of orthodox Calvinist 'images of communion' for Scotland as an imagined community. The once dominant ideas of the covenant

nation and godly commonwealth, theologically and sociologically uniting Christian and Scottish/British identity in one Calvinist imagined community, became increasingly residual and indeed marginal in Scottish national life.

It will now be argued, in this chapter, that this did not mean the end of the paradigmatic tradition of the Christian nation, only of the Reformed model generated within that paradigm. Fry is right to note that the common national presbyterian inheritance dissolved as a theological glue, holding Scotland together as both a religious and a distinctively national community, after 1843. However, this did not mean the rise of a wholly secular Scottish society, devoid of all Christian content in its shared images of nationhood. Instead, we may discern the rise of a new type of Christian model of Scotland as a Christian nation after 1843, imagined in secular rather than ecclesiastical or theological terms.

#### A New Model for a New Era

We must begin by asking, what kind of model of the Christian nation was required to replace the Reformed model which had lost its institutional and intellectual hold on the national imagination after the Disruption? It had to be a dynamic model that took account of the profound changes underway in nineteenth century Scotland: the social and economic revolution in the large-scale

movement of population away from small rural and agricultural parishes to much larger industrial and urban communities<sup>5</sup>; the assimilation of the older Scottish civic and academic culture into the ascendant English imperial order<sup>6</sup>; the move away from the old Calvinist certainties into the Victorian crisis of orthodox faith and criticism of biblical authority<sup>7</sup>; the grim human deprivation contrasting with the scientific and technological achievements of the new industrial society<sup>8</sup>; the rise of reform, labour and socialist movements calling for greater democracy and rights from the more autocratic regimes in Parliament, workplace and community<sup>9</sup>; the small but growing nationalist call for a greater autonomy in Scottish affairs as the British state intervened in more and more areas of Scottish life<sup>10</sup> - exactly the changes that the Reformed model had failed to come to terms with successfully and which tore it apart by the mid-nineteenth century.

What understanding of national life could fill the vacuum in the national imagination caused by the failure of the Reformed model of the godly nation in the new secular age? One fruitful method of analysing this question is to establish a Weberian 'ideal type' of the Christian intellectual processes to be found in post-Disruption Scotland. Such an ideal type of the revolution in thinking on Christian community can be found in the ideas of one Victorian Scottish Calvinist,

faced with the scale of the social changes and the question of the collapse of the old orthodoxies.

No one mind wrestled more earnestly with these changes or articulated the distinctive Victorian response to that question more clearly than that of the friend of Thomas Chalmers born in Ecclefechan in 1795 - Thomas Carlyle, writer, critic, man of letters and secular prophet. In 1870 a fellow Scot wrote to Thomas Carlyle, by then the revered sage of Cheyne Row (he had moved to London in 1834). Like the famous author, the man had abandoned the orthodox religious beliefs of his father's generation. He could no longer turn to a minister for spiritual counsel, as was the custom in Scotland. Instead, he turned to Carlyle, declaring him to be 'my minister, my honoured and trusted teacher.' Alan Shelston sets the letter in context:

In his biography of Carlyle, published only a year after the death of its hero, J. A. Froude reprinted a letter written to Carlyle by an unknown fellow-countryman in 1870. After making the usual apologies for intruding upon greatness, the writer goes on to justify himself: "You know that in this country, when people are perplexed they go to their minister for counsel; you are my minister, my honoured and trusted teacher, and to you I, having for more than a year back ceased to believe as my fathers believed in matters of religion, and being now an enquirer in that field, come for light on the subject of prayer." ... For his own generation Carlyle was not simply a contributor to the Victorian social and intellectual debate, and not simply a particularly dramatic historian, he was a prophetic voice crying out with clarity and conviction amid the apparent confusion of an age of change.<sup>11</sup>

That declaration, by the unknown Scottish letter writer to Carlyle, is as significant in its way as the Declaration of Arbroath or National Covenant for our understanding of the historical development of Scotland as a Christian nation. It gives the clue as to what happened to that overarching paradigm after the collapse of its Calvinist model in the 1840s. It did not dissolve into pure secularity but was distilled into a secularized brand of its old Calvinist spirit. For Carlyle, that meant seeing history as a divine scripture and embodying the divine spirit of religion 'in a new vehicle and vesture.' In the terms of this thesis, it meant the creation of a new model of the Christian nation to be the 'vehicle and vesture' of this new secularized and yet still religious understanding of human history. Carlyle serves as an ideal type of the religious and intellectual processes that created this new imagined community.

### The Dutiful Commonwealth

During the course of the nineteenth century a growing number of Scots abandoned not only the Reformed model of Scottish nationhood as a godly commonwealth but also the orthodox Christian faith and worship in which it was grounded. Thomas Carlyle was a bell-wether figure for a new kind of spiritual flock that emerged in Scotland as in so many other Western countries in this period. He was brought up in a devout Calvinist home by parents who hoped he would enter the ministry after his

studies at Edinburgh University. His childhood faith did not survive his student days. His inherited belief in the traditional Christian creed and Calvinist confession dissolved in the intellectual acids of the Scottish Enlightenment thinking he encountered at university, with its sceptical rejection of revealed religion. However, in abandoning Christian orthodoxy, Carlyle did not embrace the sceptical rationalism that had replaced it. Like his friend Thomas Chalmers some years before, he went through a period of profound personal spiritual crisis as he struggled to find a career other than the ministry and retain a religious meaning to life apart from the new sceptical orthodoxies of empiricism and utilitarianism. Unlike Chalmers, Carlyle did not resolve this crisis through an evangelical experience of conversion and a renewed sense of vocation to preach the Gospel.

Rather he met Goethe and the gospel of Idealist philosophy on his Damascus Road to German Romanticism. As he wrote to a friend on Christmas Day, 1837, Goethe 'was to me a Gospel of Gospels, and did literally, I believe, save me from destruction outward and inward.'<sup>12</sup> From Goethe and other German Romantic writers and thinkers he found an affirmation of the spiritual reality denied by the rationalist, utilitarian thinkers of his day. Rejecting only what he saw as the husk of religion, the no longer tenable theological and historical



doctrines of the Church, he believed that he had kept the kernel, a transcendent sense of spiritual and moral truth and purpose. As Alan Shelston has observed, 'At a period in Carlyle's life when he was finding the religious literalism of his upbringing untenable he had thus discovered an authoritative mysticism that absolved him from the problems posed by explicitly Christian belief.... Sartor Resartus, that whimsical case-history of a tortured and triumphant soul, is the most obvious example of Carlyle's debt to German Romanticism....'13 He spent the rest of his life arguing for the ethical and mystical substance of the universe and human history while rejecting both utilitarian-materialist and orthodox Christian world-views. Duty became his watchword and work his means of salvation. In this, Carlyle retained the stamp of his Calvinist heritage.

As the article on Carlyle by A. O. C. Cockshut in the Encyclopaedia Britannica puts it:

The whole of his life and writings can be seen as an attempt to secularize, to reclothe the Calvinist insights without mitigating them. In the effort to preserve religion while discarding its doctrines, he has affinities with several famous Victorians, particularly Matthew Arnold. But whereas Arnold, working from a moderate Anglican basis, attempted to turn Christianity into sweetness and light, Carlyle preserved to the full and even increased the fierceness, the momentous drama, the seriousness of Calvinism. The idea of the elect and the reprobate, even though turned into moral and secular terms, was an ever-present reality to him.14

It is here, in the transposing of Calvinism into purely secular and moral terms, that Carlyle is such an archetypical figure in the changing landscape of Scottish identity during the nineteenth century. Carlyle's spiritual pilgrimage became a well-trodden way for many Victorian and then, later, Edwardian Scots (as it did for Anglicans and non-conformists in England, and Catholics on the Continent in the nineteenth century)<sup>15</sup>. They had an ambivalent relationship to the old Calvinist (or orthodox Christian) faith of their forbears. Like Carlyle, they rejected the God of its Confession but kept its high sense of moral duty. In the words of the Scottish church historian A. C. Cheyne:

At the outset of the nineteenth century ... only the most prescient could have foretold the coming transformation of Scotland's confessional standards. By the eighteen-thirties and forties, however, it was altogether otherwise. During these decades of rapid and far-reaching change - social, political and intellectual - attention came to be focused not on the circumference but on the centre of Presbyterianism's traditional faith, and some of the basic doctrines and attitudes of Westminster Calvinism came under serious and sustained attack.... They were also the years when Thomas Carlyle, outside the religious camp but still in communication with it, perfected his art of persisting with much of the old phraseology while at the same time conveying the impression that virtually nothing in earth or heaven was exactly as it had been.<sup>16</sup>

Certainly nothing in the earth or heaven of Scottish identity would continue as it had been before these decades. Carlyle typifies these changes. For our purposes, he serves as an ideal type of the spiritual

revolution that led to a new Christian model of Scottish nationhood. His was a secularized version of the old Reformed model of the godly nation. Increasingly, this 'secular Christian model' was shared by many Scots. It conceived of Scotland less in theological terms, as in the historic Reformed model, and more in ethical and moral terms. Scotland was now seen as a moral nation. Carlyle rejected the Calvinist confessional foundations but still drew on its biblical and theologically derived moral and social concepts to frame his social vision. Such secular Christian visionaries of nineteenth century Scotland derived their ethical vision of a moral nation from the Bible. They were reversing the tendency we noted in Scottish Calvinism since the seventeenth century to transpose all national issues into an ecclesiastical key. Carlyle transposed all theological notions into a moral key within history and human affairs. The worship of the transcendent God of the Bible became the awesome, immanent recognition of the total claims of moral duty on the human soul and society. As his biographer J. A. Froude noted:

To the Scotch people and to the Puritan part of the English, the Jewish history contained a faithful account of the dealings of God with man in all countries and in all ages. As long as men kept God's commandments it was well with them; when they forgot God's commandments and followed after wealth and enjoyment, the wrath of God fell upon them. Commerce, manufactures, intellectual enlightenment, political liberty, outward pretence of religiosity, all the modern nations mean when they speak of wealth and progress and improvement, were but Moloch or

Astarte in a new disguise, and now as then it was impossible to serve God and Baal. In some form or other retribution would come, wherever the hearts of men were set on material prosperity. To this simple creed Carlyle adhered as the central principle of all his thoughts. The outward shell of it had broken. He had ceased to believe in miracles and supernatural interpositions. But to him the natural was the supernatural, and the tales of signs and wonders had risen out of the efforts of men to realise the deepest of truths to themselves. The Jewish history was the symbol of all history. All nations in all ages were under the same dispensation. We did not come into the world with rights which we were entitled to claim, but with duties which we were ordered to do. Rights men had none, save to be governed justly. Duties waited for them everywhere. Their business was to find what those duties were and faithfully to fulfill them. So and only so the commonweal could prosper....<sup>17</sup>

Here we have the godly nation, Chalmers' godly commonwealth, transposed into the dutiful commonwealth. This notion of duty was a key concept in Carlyle's thought. Commenting on a letter Carlyle wrote to his devout friend Thomas Erskine of Linlathen in 1847, Froude remarked that 'to Carlyle... religion was obligation, a command which bound men to duty, as something which they were compelled to do under tremendous penalties.'<sup>18</sup> Carlyle himself saw the God-appointed rulers of this world as the chosen few who continue to believe in "the eternal nature of duty". He saw his own calling as that of a prophet, in itself a characteristically Calvinist role. Having abandoned any plans for the ministry, Carlyle had worked intermittently and unhappily as a teacher before turning to the hazardous life of an

essayist, historian and social critic. He eventually found success and fame as a writer after his move to London in 1837. But Carlyle continued to preach his gospel of duty and his vision of the dutiful commonwealth, until his death in 1881.

Carlyle's devout mother got her wish. Her brilliant son did become a minister but in a 'secular pulpit'. As Shelston has noted of Carlyle's literary style, 'The chief characteristic of the style ... is rhetorical rather than literary, a direct consequence of that impulse which led to his parents' aspirations that Carlyle might one day occupy a Presbyterian pulpit.'<sup>19</sup> His writings proclaimed to his troubled generation the dreadful, eternal demands of duty and not the saving message of the sovereign grace of God in Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, as believed by his Calvinist parents' generation. He preached another gospel to that of the godly vision of the Reformed model but, in Froude's words, 'Amidst the controversies, the arguments, the doubts, the crowding uncertainties of forty years ago, Carlyle's voice was to the young generation of Englishmen like the sound of "ten thousand trumpets" in their ears, as the Knight of Grange said of Knox.'<sup>20</sup> Froude was referring to the generation of the 1840s. In that decade, the Reformed model collapsed and Thomas Chalmers died. Another prophetic voice replaced the rich five tones of the leading divine of his generation. It

sounded the clarion call to a new ethical vision which many heard gladly, in part because it was still framed in terms of the familiar moral discourse of Calvinism, and pursued with religious zeal in the secular life of Scotland. Carlyle was, after all, the friend of Chalmers.

Carlyle spoke to the highly developed moral conscience as well as to the religious doubts of his time. The kind of moral vision to be found in Carlyle's thought and writings increasingly filled the vacuum left in the minds and hearts of many Victorian Scots by the expulsion of orthodox Christian belief and worship. The old verities were being sucked out by the drawing power of scientific discovery and critical study of the Bible and religion; the widespread and characteristically Victorian crisis of faith.<sup>21</sup> Of course, the rise of this secular Christian model, in which Scotland and its national life were thought of primarily in the ethical terms of the previous Calvinist vision, was in no way due solely to the influence of Carlyle. He was part swimmer and part pilot in a cultural sea-change. For our purposes he is an illuminating ideal type of a much wider shift in national consciousness and the terms in which the Scots imagined their national identity and community. Nor was this shift in model unique to Scotland, except perhaps in its note of high moral seriousness and its pervasive hold on the imagination of many of the secular

reformers, public servants and activists who dominate the period.<sup>22</sup> Carlyle does serve, however, as an early and influential example of how the Calvinist theological model of Scotland was turned into an implicitly Christian moral version rooted within the world and human history, as the nineteenth century ran its course. In that sense it was a secular model of Christian nationhood, rooted in this age but still operating with secularized Christian images and concepts.

Carlyle clearly transposed the theological and Calvinist moral terms of the godly commonwealth into a moral critique of industrializing and utilitarian society:

At the outset of his career ... Carlyle's reading of German literature provided him with the opportunity to transform the morality of his Calvinist childhood, and gave him a unique insight into the limitations of the utilitarian self-assurance which, in intellectual circles at least, seemed at one time likely to dominate his age. The transcendent element in Carlyle is clear in the opening page of Signs of the Times, his first sustained essay on social issues: "The poorest day that passes over us is the conflux of two Eternities; it is made up of currents that issue from the remotest past and flow onwards into the remotest future." This emphasis on the infinite perspectives of the human situation gives point to the critique of Benthamite utilitarianism which is the main purpose of the essay: Carlyle is concerned not simply with a theoretical disquisition but with the affirmation of a faith which is not proscribed by a materialistic social philosophy.<sup>23</sup>

Accepting Carlyle's distinctive and idiosyncratic use of German Romanticism in developing a new



transcendant discourse on secular life, this mode of thought was to prove typical of the way many Victorian and Edwardian Scots re-fashioned their sense of national identity in Christian terms. Industrial Scotland would remain a Christian nation but on the foundation of shared Christian ethics rather than one Confession of Faith. Stripped of its German Romantic metaphysical garb, Carlyle's kind of vision of the dutiful commonwealth, a secularized Calvinist model of a moral nation, took hold of the Scottish imagination and shaped its thinking about national life for a hundred years. From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries the conviction was retained that Scotland was a Christian country, not because of a common membership of one Church, as in the Catholic model, or common adherence to one theological Confession in one national Church, as in the Reformed model, but due to a continuing consensus over shared Christian values. Here we have the third major Christian model of Scotland in Scotland's history, the third version of the paradigm of Scotland as a Christian nation - a secular Calvinist model of Scotland seen in Christian ethical terms as a moral nation.

It will now be necessary to fill out that model with examples of the way in which it operated in the the national mind and of the ways in which it saw Scotland as an imagined community, in the broad hundred year period from around the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth



centuries. But first the 'Secular model' of Christian nationhood must be set within a particular sociological theory of secularization.

### Transposing the Reformed Model

It would be relatively easy to place Scotland and what is here termed the new 'Secular model' of Christian nationhood in this period within a general theory of secularization in Western societies. The main indicators of such a process, including the uncoupling of the church from the life of secular institutions, the rejection of orthodox religious belief and practice and the decline in church attendance and membership, can all be found in Scottish society in the last two hundred years. Some social theorists would argue that secularization is a much more subtle and complex phenomenon than a simple registering of such institutional, cultural and statistical trends would suggest. Sociologists of religion have developed many different interpretations and models of the notion of religious decline in Western societies.<sup>24</sup> One such theory uses a concept we have already encountered in the history and theology of the relationship between church and nation in Scotland, that of transposition.

Certain sociologists of religion would argue that what may at times happen in a particular, so-called secularized society is not the decline and extinction of

religion but rather the transposition of theologically-rooted beliefs and values from the religious to the secular sphere.<sup>25</sup> This transposition theory of secularization draws on Max Weber's seminal insight and historical argument that religious values with a theological origin in the Protestant work ethic were transposed into generally accepted cultural values like hard-work or thrift during the rise of capitalism in the West.<sup>26</sup> According to this viewpoint, Christianity has been so successful in converting Western societies and in establishing Christian concepts and values as the self-evident common ethical currency of Western cultures, that such transposed Christian social concepts and moral values can survive without the recognition of their theological and religious roots or support for the churches which generated them in the first place. As the sociologist and theologian Robin Gill has stated the transposition theory:

This view-point takes its initial insight from Weber's concept of the transposition of religious values. In Weber's thesis it was (as he admitted), of course, only the values which appear to the theologian as relatively trivial, such as industriousness and asceticism, which were transposed into generally accepted values in Western society. A more thoroughgoing theory of transposition might hold, instead, that Western society is embedded in Christian values and concepts to such an extent that it can scarcely even detect these values. According to this view, Christianity has been astonishingly successful in converting Western society, so successful, in fact, that it is extremely difficult to tell Christians apart from non-Christians within it. Again, Weber argued that transposed Christian values can persist

in society long after their initial institutional basis has been forgotten. Thus Protestant notions of "thrift", "hard-work" and "honesty" no longer depend, in Western society, upon theological notions of predestination, sanctification or election. Such theological roots are important only at the outset. Similarly, it could be argued that other Christian values and concepts are so well established in Western society that they no longer require support from the churches.<sup>27</sup>

It will be argued here that this transposition theory of secularization enables us to understand the kind of model of Christian nationhood that replaced the Reformed model in the century after 1843. What we see in Scotland from around the mid-nineteenth century is the transposing of Reformed and Christian social values and concepts into a secular key, in an age that increasingly rejected Calvinist belief and worship while holding fast to its social ethos and ethics. In Stephen Maxwell's apposite phrase, the Calvinist moral vision of national life came to be preached from 'the secular pulpit'.<sup>28</sup>

But, as Gill's comments make clear, such a transposition theory of secularization also raises the question of whether or not a transposed secular model of Scotland as a moral nation, grounded in shared Christian ethical values, can survive the decline of the churches and the theological worldview which generated them. Before relating the idea of transposition to our proposed secularized Christian model of Scotland, Gill's point

must be noted:

... some sociologists, otherwise quite sceptical about the claims of the Gospel, have begun to adopt a more pessimistic, Durkheimian, view about the moral survival of Western society in the vacuum created by declining churches. It is still, of course, a very open question how long specifically Christian values can survive in a society in which churches are no longer socially significant. It is also an open question, whether or not contemporary Western churches really do lack social significance. None the less, the possibility still remains - a possibility which worried the pioneer sociologists even more than their contemporary counterparts - that the future of Christian values does depend, long term, upon the survival of specifically Christian institutions in society. Values which appear to be "platitudinous" and mere "common sense" may not remain so indefinitely in a churchless society.<sup>29</sup>

We shall return to consider that crucial question and the present-day fate of the Secular model after tracing its history and influence in national life since the Victorian era.

#### Out of the Church, Into the Nation

In one sense, the secular Calvinist model of Scotland as a moral nation began in the mid-eighteenth century with the Moderates. These ministers very much saw the Gospel in the civilizing ethical terms of moral enlightenment and improvement, rather than in the federal Calvinist terms of the Westminster scheme of salvation. As John Dwyer has noted, in his study of Virtuous Discourse in eighteenth century Scotland:

In addition to their definition as an ecclesiastical faction, the Moderates tended to

espouse a common set of beliefs, attitudes and ideologies which we can conveniently label as 'Moderatism'. This common outlook, arising from contemporary problems and needs, constantly overlapped and mingled with more specifically clerical interests. It expressed itself in their support for belles lettres and the Edinburgh theatre, their cautious espousal of both economic and cultural improvement, their advocacy of freedom of conscience, their concern about the education of youth in a modern society and, above all, their attempts to construct a new moral framework or temper which could help to preserve the individual's moral autonomy in an increasingly selfish and luxurious environment. Sermons were the main vehicle for the inculcation of this mental framework. Moderate sermons were an extremely influential form of moral discourse. Visitors to Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century were intrigued to discover that the preaching of the Moderate clergy was popular among the most polite elements of Scottish society.<sup>30</sup>

However, what distinguishes them from the later secular Calvinist visionaries was the essential and central place the Moderates gave to the church in realising their moral vision in national life.<sup>31</sup> They did not publicly challenge the orthodox Westminster Confession of the Kirk or the importance of worship and preaching in the life of church and nation, as happened increasingly in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries.<sup>32</sup> Rather, they sought to use preaching as a form of moral instruction: 'The Moderates' sermons were also opportunities to express an ecclesiastical ideal that harmonised with the social philosophy of the age, and to demonstrate their pastoral commitment, which tradition has denied they had.'<sup>33</sup> In the later secular Christian model of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

there is a rejection or abandonment, or at the very least a downgrading, of the Church as the key national or even Christian institution, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly. There is a related downgrading of the contribution of Christian belief and worship in fashioning a unifying spiritual and moral vision for Scottish society, in favour of the practical Christianity of social ethics and involvement in secular affairs. Therefore, only in a qualified sense can the Moderates be seen as the forerunners of the secularized Christian model.

By calling this model a secular one, it must be stressed that we are arguing that it remains the third main Christian model of Scotland within the paradigmatic tradition of the Christian nation, a successor to the Catholic and Reformed models. It is secular in the sense that it removes God and the Church from the centre of the picture and focuses its vision on this world and its earthly affairs. But it remains Christian in the sense that in its concern for this secular world it still operates with Christian, and in particular, Calvinist or presbyterian, ethical, moral and social norms. We might take as our starting point for understanding the distinctively Christian terms of the secular model an essay that typifies this new way of looking at Christianity in national life, called The City Without a Church.<sup>34</sup>

The author was Henry Drummond (1851-1897), a scientist, Free Church professor, evangelist and devotional writer of huge popularity and influence in his day. Drummond was himself a devout Christian believer and churchman but he had both a gift and a passion to communicate the gospel to his Victorian contemporaries in their own terms, especially the new world-view of evolution. A. C. Cheyne has written of Drummond: 'The outstanding exemplar of whole-hearted enthusiasm for the new world-view was Professor Henry Drummond.... Such esteem as Drummond still enjoys depends almost entirely upon the skill and grace with which he commended the Faith to student audiences all over the world; but in his own day he was equally well known within church circles as a populariser of evolutionary theory, and his volumes ... were very widely read.'<sup>35</sup> We shall take Drummond as an exemplar not only of Victorian enthusiasm for new scientific thought but also as a historical exemplar of the paradigm of Christian nationhood, in its new enthusiasm for seeing Christian values practised in a secular context.

His devotional writings were couched in evolutionary and scientific language. Christianity was presented as the highest form of man's spiritual development. In his preaching and writing Drummond was concerned to persuade his audience that Christianity should find practical expression in their everyday lives



and in the life of society. No where did he state this more fully than in The City without a Church. Though still written by a Christian believer, it is a classic manifesto of the secular model of Scotland as a Christian nation, a Declaration of Arbroath, a National Covenant, on a more modest and popular scale in the age of cheap mass printing.

For Drummond, the secular model of Scotland is none other than a version of the biblical vision of 'the city without a church'. Drummond's essay is an exposition of the vision of St John in the Book of Revelation where heaven is seen as a city without a temple (Revelation 21:22, RSV): 'And I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb,' Drummond sees great significance in this for a practical model of Christianity in the modern world:

Almost nothing more revolutionary could be said, even to the modern world, in the name of religion. No Church - that is the defiance of religion; a City - that is the antipodes of Heaven. Yet John combines these contradictions in one daring image, and holds up to the world the picture of a City without a Church as his ideal of the heavenly life.<sup>36</sup>

It is precisely this 'daring image', the 'City without a Church', that became the key 'image of communion' for the secular Christian model. It imagined Scottish nationhood in this distinctively new way within the continuing paradigm of the Christian nation. The dominant idea in this secularized Christian ethical model of the Christian



nation is what may be termed the 'civic church' - the city/nation seen as a 'moral caucus', a Christian ethical community for civic and national reform.<sup>37</sup>

As a Christian believer Drummond does not deny the importance of the church, its beliefs and worship for nurturing Christian faith and character in the lives of individuals: 'As a channel of nourishment, as a stimulus to holy deeds, as a link with all holy lives, let all men use it, and to the utmost of their opportunity. But by all that they know of Christ or care for man, let them beware of mistaking its services for Christianity.'<sup>38</sup> Church services are now only means to a greater end. The worship, beliefs and life of the church must no longer be the focus for a Christian vision of the nation. The life of the earthly city must be the priority for Christianity in action. Indeed, the true church is the earthly city:

For this vision of the City marks off in lines which no eye can mistake the true area which the religion of Christ is meant to inhabit, and announces for all time the real nature of the saintly life.... With actual things, with Humanity in its everyday dress, with the traffic of the streets, with gates and houses, with work and wages, with sin and poverty, with all these things, and all the things and all the relations and all the people of the City, Christianity has to do and all the more to do than anything else.... In this vision of the City (St John) confronts us with a new definition of a Christian man - the perfect saint is the perfect citizen. To make Cities - that is what we are here for. To make good Cities - that is for the present hour the main work of Christianity.... People do not dispute that religion is in the Church. What is now wanted is to let them see it in the City.... Then pass out into the City.... Beautify it, ventilate it, drain it.... Christianize capital;

dignify labour. Join Councils and Committees.... So will you serve the City... to carry on the multitudinous activities of the city - social, commercial, political, philanthropic - in Christ's spirit and for His ends; that is the religion of the Son of Man.... the Church with all its splendid equipment, the cloister with all its holy opportunity, are not the final instruments for fitting men for Heaven. The City, in many of its functions, is a greater Church than the Church.<sup>39</sup>

These selections from throughout Drummond's essay illustrate and underline the Christian nature of this secular model. 'Do not be afraid of missing Heaven in seeking a better earth.', he wrote, 'The distinction between secular and sacred is a confusion and not a contrast; and it is only because the secular is so intensely sacred that so many eyes are blind before it.'<sup>40</sup> Drummond and the secular Christian model radically re-interpret the church to mean primarily the civic community imbued with and transformed by Christian ethical values.

Here is another reversal of the relationship between church and nation in the history of the Christian paradigm of Scotland. In the Covenanting version of the Reformed model, the nation became subsumed in the church and everything was transposed into the ecclesiastical key. In the secular Christian model everything is transposed into the secular key as the church becomes the earthly nation. That is the substance of Drummond's message and of the secular Christian model of Scotland

(as a typical late Victorian Scot inhabiting 'North Britain', he wrote of 'England') which he presented with such popular appeal. The focus has changed from the time of the Disruption, when everything hinged on church affairs and the 'national recognition of religion'.

Drummond quoted a preacher of the day with approval:

What (the Church) aims at is not the recognition by the nation of a worshipping body, governed by the ministers of public worship, which calls itself the Church, but that the nation and all classes in it should act upon Christian principle, that laws should be made in Christ's spirit of justice, that the relations of the powers of the State should be maintained on a basis of Christian equity, that all public acts should be done in Christ's spirit, and with mutual forbearance, that the spirit of Christian charity should be spread through all ranks and orders of the people.<sup>41</sup>

This secular model was concerned with the concrete, tangible realisation of the Christian ethic in the life of nations on earth. For Drummond, 'What John saw, we may fairly take it, was the future of all cities. It was the dawn of a new social order, a regenerate humanity, a purified city, an actual transformation of the Cities of the world into the Cities of God.'<sup>42</sup> No city embraced this secular model more enthusiastically than his own adopted city of Glasgow.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Glasgow was at the height of its powers as an industrial metropolis, the 'Second City of the Empire'. It was also a city of slum housing, squalor and poverty.

In tackling Glasgow's urban problems through municipal reform and practical philanthropy, its civic leaders set an example that was studied and copied by industrial cities around the world, especially by American urban reformers. The historian Bernard Aspinwall has identified the ideals of 'the Social gospel' and 'Practical Christianity' as among the main motivations of municipal reformers on both sides of the Atlantic:

Religion, as Lord Bryce observed, was vital to the maintenance of a stable civilised society. Practical Christianity, by entering the political arena, was attempting through democratic methods to discipline and harmonise the city. The 'moral import of a well-run city with a strong sense of purpose and community spirit', as in Glasgow, was considerable. Christian care and compassion were acts of democratic faith in the city against secular socialism. Among Americans, as among Glaswegians, a theocratic strain persisted: "The Church in reality is the society formed by those who claim fellowship with Christ, and above all, she is the still vaster societies of those whom unconsciously and without knowing His blessed name, live in His Spirit and continue His work." It was an echo of positivism and romanticism - "in short the new faith of the unchurched is faith in people in the coming kingdom of heaven on earth".... Unfortunately, or maybe fortunately, this national moral purpose could develop into imperialism: but the sacred was to be secularised and the secular sacralised - a hope which was given dramatic illustration in the Labour churches of Scotland and the socialist Sunday Schools which also attracted American interest.<sup>43</sup>

In the ethical socialism of the rising Labour movement and in the commitment of many businessmen to public service and municipal reform, it can be argued that Christian values were transposed into secular reform politics in turn of the century Scotland - without

insistence on adherence to traditional dogma. When the labour leader Keir Hardie stated at the turn of the century that the choice facing society was that between the Kingdoms of God and Mammon, his thrust was ethical and political, not doctrinal. Describing the composition of late-nineteenth century Scottish political radicalism, Christopher Harvie has stated:

And above all there were the Christian socialists, reacting against the rigidity of fundamentalist Calvinism.... they included ... Keir Hardie himself.... his deeply religious, sentimental mysticism, his veneration of superman-sages like Carlyle and Tennyson, were quintessentially late-Victorian. He preached and talked in parables - this was what a chapel-going generation understood and expected....44

This mystical, Christian ethical perspective, held by key exemplars of the secular model of the Christian nation, had a distinctive view of Scottish national identity. As Aspinwall observes in his study of Glasgow's visionary and practical influence on America from 1820 to 1920, called appropriately Portable Utopia, Scotland's major city fostered a national vision shared on both sides of the Atlantic.<sup>45</sup> This trans-Atlantic Christian ethical vision has a profound impact on national identity in both Scotland and America:

In combining Christian sense of duty, economic interest and enlightened benevolence, Scottish immigrants into America made a vital contribution to the national sense of identity: they organised and justified the spirit of expectant capitalism, and they contributed a deep sense of national mission.... Two national characteristics in the developing United States were also two aspects of the nineteenth century utopian vision: they were

benevolence and progress.... A humanitarian virtue, benevolence was in line with the traditional Christian values and with the ideal of civic service.... Both Scotland and America had sustained these millenarian expectations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both countries looked upon themselves as "redeemer nations" with a providential mission. By the nineteenth century a more sophisticated and secularised version prevailed: in this respect Glasgow was prominent.... The Scottish contribution to America was funnelled through Glasgow, which exported educational entrepreneurial and engineering expertise within an ethical and religious framework which was peculiarly Scottish.... Both the Scottish and the American sense of national identity was moral and religious: this sustained many in the urban centre of Glasgow or in the United States. Whatever forces drove the Scots forth, they could find solace in some providential plan for individual, national and universal regeneration. They had been and still were a chosen people.<sup>46</sup>

Through improved housing and sanitation, through the provision of public education, through better public transport and municipal tramways, through improved leisure facilities for the masses, the city fathers of Glasgow believed they were building in stone the Christian moral ideal of a caring, socially responsible community in an urban, industrial age. Through temperance crusades, through socialist politics or trade union organisation, many working class and radical Scots, along with middle class businessmen, civic leaders and social reformers, believed that they had found a better way of building the New Jerusalem than the national mission of the Kirk.<sup>47</sup>

It was a conviction that came to be shared by many

Christians active within church-based welfare work as they felt themselves increasingly swamped by the sheer scale of the social problems they sought to tackle. The moving force of practical Christianity became municipal reform or the labour movement, not the all-embracing parish Kirk, with its joint pastoral and welfare roles, as in the Reformed model of the godly nation: 'In the generation before the first world war, Scottish national identity was found not in the church, established or free, but in the town hall; in an ethical Christian community faith rather than "churchianity".'<sup>48</sup>

As the above statement indicates, Aspinwall argues that this Scottish municipal Christian ethical community ideal was inseparably linked to the Scottish sense of national identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scotland was playing a leading and influential role in world affairs in this period, and yet it did so within the ambiguities of a nation that was part of a larger British empire and English-speaking Protestant world:

The Scottish religious identity, unlike many others, was less confined to a geographical area and more expressed the inner mind and soul of man.... Unlike the scattered Irish, few Scots dreamed of a separate independent state: some wanted home rule but most took pride in the republic of the mind and blood. Scottish religious attitudes likewise travelled well. They were readily transplanted to any part of the globe, as flexible, adjustable, internalised and suitable to (American) and international development. Scots took considerable pride in their providential mission as the social and technical engineers of



the Anglo-Saxon race: church and nation were one and indivisible.... Scotland then offered a fact and theory of nation building within a family of nations, a role for which she was well qualified by her experience within the British Empire.... This sense of mission, the positions of leadership and influence held together with the difficulty of mounting a viable independent national identity, except as a proud form of self-expression within a larger unit, whether the British Empire or the United States, gave Scottish relations with the state a unique character.... If the Christian nation ... "is in the fullest sense a church", calling forth the gifts and capacities of individuals and classes within a decentralised body, then the strength and efficiency of local Christianity would be reflected in a truly Christian national life. Glasgow embodied that ideal in a practical and effective manner.<sup>49</sup>

Aspinwall is highlighting the distinctive and yet also ambiguous nature of the secular Christian model's relationship to Scottish nationhood and national identity. It faced the range of dilemmas that the Reformed model encountered: how to resolve the relationships between church and nation, church and state, Scottish and British identities, in its organising images of Scotland?

On the one hand this secular model clearly stands in the Scottish paradigmatic tradition of the Christian nation. It sought to undergird the Christian identity of the nation through the nation's Christian ethical consensus over its public values. And yet it transposed the church into the nation in the process, making the civic and national community a substitute for the church, a civic church. In the secular model the Christian



nation became 'the city without a church', maintaining a common life through its shared Christian and transposed Calvinist values, rather than through the worship and religious community of the national Kirk. This raises the question of whether Scotland could continue as a Christian nation under such a secular model, given Robin Gill's comment above, over whether Western society can sustain Christian values when the churches that generated them are in decline or, as in this period, being marginalised.<sup>50</sup> This is a question to which we shall return in the final section of this chapter, as we analyse the later twentieth century fate of the ethical approach to nationhood.

The secular model is also ambivalent in its view of the state and Scottish/British identity. It offered a coherent civic programme for sustaining a Christian nation. If the nation was seen as a church, the body of Christ, then the health and contribution of its different local parts were vital to the health of the whole nation. Through municipal reform, 'the strength and efficiency of local Christianity would be reflected in a truly Christian national life.' And yet this secular model did not raise questions about the political dimension of Scottish nationhood. As Aspinwall shows, it was content to see Scottish national identity in spiritual and mental terms, as a state of mind, within the larger political boundaries of the British empire. It did not contemplate

a separate and independent political identity for Scotland. In Aspinwall's phrase, the secular model of the Christian nation - a moral nation - was a portable utopia. In his essay on the 'city without a church', Drummond refers to specific cities and countries around the world, including London and England, and does not mention Scotland or any Scottish city by name. And yet the contemporary Scottish context clearly resonates loudly with Drummond's thinking in this essay. Aspinwall cites Drummond's essay as evidence of his argument that the town hall had replaced the church as the locus of Scottish national identity, understood in exactly Drummond's terms as an ethical Christian community faith.<sup>51</sup> Drummond was living and teaching in the great 'civic church' of Glasgow as a professor at the city's Free Church College. The strong antipathy to ecclesiastical controversy in the essay, especially over whether the nation should recognise a particular church, surely reflects the disputes over church disestablishment raging in the Scotland of his time, not least in Drummond's own Free Church. And yet, for Drummond, as so often for the exponents of the secular model, the particular political and social context of Scottish nationhood is not seen as essential to his imagining of the Christian nation; in the way that it was for the medieval Catholic model. Nor is the political establishment of a national Kirk seen as essential to the secular model of Scotland Christian nation, in the way

that it was for the Reformed model.

To that extent, the secular model of the Christian nation is clearly subject to a number of social constraints which influence its choice of images for Scottish national identity. Its hostility to the role of the church in ensuring a Christian nation, and preference for social reform, reflects not only the Victorian crisis of faith - where social problems proved less controversial to tackle than intellectual ones - but the realities of a society torn by interdenominational rivalry and dispute. The failure to engage seriously with the secular political dimension of Scottish nationhood, at a national constitutional as opposed to a local civic level, reflects the hegemony of British imperial ideology in this turn-of-the-century period.

As with Thomas Carlyle, its ideal type, who wrote of 'England' and yet remained unmistakably Scottish and Calvinist in his cast of mind, the secular model of Scotland as a Christian nation was developed at the height of the British imperial order. This model was held together by 'universal' Christian (Protestant) ethical ideals and portable programmes of urban social reform, and therefore saw Scottish experience in a wider British and imperial context, and as a spiritual and mental identity, 'the inner mind and soul of man' inhabiting 'the republic of the mind and blood.'<sup>52</sup> The

secular Christian model rarely imagined, or was required to imagine, Scotland as a secular political nation requiring self-government. Municipal autonomy within the wider British empire and Protestant world was a sufficient political condition for the flourishing of the Christian nation. Only ethical Christian socialists like Keir Hardie embraced a commitment to both the ethical ideal of Christian community and Scottish home rule (but this Home rule commitment owed more to its origins in Liberal radicalism than any explicitly Christian sources, such as the church-state arguments of figures like James Begg). The secular Christian model of Scotland was, however, predominantly set within the unquestioned context of a British identity and empire.

This emphasis on practical, ethical Christianity spread through the institutions of the local civic community rather than the church, is, therefore, one of the key dominant ideas and images of national identity in the secular model of the Christian nation. In some measure, it represents a secularized version of the Reformed model's Calvinist and reformation emphasis on the Christian transformation of society through the godly local parish kirk. Yet, in as much as it discounts the role of the national Kirk and the local parish in that work of Christian social transformation, it represents a fundamental departure from and difference with that Reformed model.

There are other points of continuity with the Reformed model's dominant ideas for achieving a Christian nation, especially in the priority the national Kirk gave to education. However, yet again the secular model discounts the explicitly theological aspects of the Reformed concern with national education. Social transformation was to be attained through a common moral education rather than divisive doctrinal preaching: 'Salvation was thus transposed from theological to social grounds and a new class of moral guardians was empowered to enforce a newly created moral code.'<sup>53</sup> For many of the activists in this portable utopia, morality and social order were seen to take precedence over matters of faith and eternal salvation. Even Christians who had traditionally worked through voluntary agencies to tackle urban problems entered municipal politics with all the fervour of a moral crusade. Nevertheless, in developing new forms of social work, such as establishing university settlement houses in deprived areas of the city, the legacy of Chalmers' model of the godly commonwealth was not exhausted. According to Aspinwall, 'The settlement house movement was in most instances a more secularised version of the old fashioned Christian involvement.'<sup>54</sup> We can still hear echoes of Thomas Chalmers in this Scottish ethical vision but its preachers were increasingly secular voices speaking from secular pulpits.

## The Secular Pulpit

In the twentieth century some of these secular preachers were to prove very influential indeed, as Stephen Maxwell has shown. In his study of The Secular Pulpit: Presbyterian Democracy in the Twentieth Century<sup>55</sup>, Maxwell looks at the lives of three Scots; the educationalist, A.D.Lindsay; the founder of the British Broadcasting Corporation, John Reith; and the pioneering documentary film-maker, John Grierson. He argues that all three men helped shape British society's response to the problems of democracy in a mass industrial age. Common to all of them was their Scottish inheritance with its distinctive themes and values. Maxwell argues that much of their creative thinking about national life came from transposing that Scottish presbyterian experience, in our terms the Reformed model of the Christian nation, into a secular British context: 'The dominant element in this inheritance was, of course, Presbyterian. In their different circumstances and with varying degrees of success, the three Scots translated the constitutional claims of the Scottish Church into secular forms adapted to the needs of twentieth century democracy.'<sup>56</sup>

Maxwell suggests that the Church of Scotland, recognised as the national church by the state and yet spiritually autonomous, served as a model of a public yet self-governing body for Reith's British Broadcasting Corporation, Lindsay's adult educational work with the

Workers Educational Association and, to a lesser extent, Grierson's approach to the social role of the documentary film. They saw education, public broadcasting and cinema as the new secular pulpits which would offer mass society spiritual and moral leadership in the vacuum left by the churches. But the Presbyterian tradition offered more than institutional models for a mass democracy:

The Scottish inheritance which gave Lindsay, Reith and Grierson the model of a national institution at once independent and 'established' as a source of moral leadership in society, embraced other values qualified to inspire a positive response to the problems of mass democracy. In a secular context the Presbyterian concept of an educated laity capable of playing a responsible part in Church government and of making its own judgements on theological and spiritual issues, endowed the mass public of modern society with a moral dignity denied it in some of the more fashionable sociologically orientated analyses.<sup>57</sup>

These three influential figures in British public life, Reith and Lindsay the sons of Free Church manse and Grierson from a conservative Church of Scotland home, held to the Calvinist sense of the higher moral purpose of all experience, echoing Carlyle's earlier vision. While they might disagree over the methods and priorities of education they shared 'a conviction that education in a democracy had to be education in the standards and duties of political life' and they 'believed that society depended on the existence of common values and that in Western democracies those standards were ultimately Christian.'<sup>58</sup> These secular presbyterian democrats and pulpiteers thus operated within Gill's transposition

theory of secularization. They recognised that the secular moral values with which they sought to re-shape mass democracy were 'ultimately Christian'. This conviction was seen in their own public careers as they sought to transpose the presbyterian tradition of thought about the relationship between the state and the sources of moral and spiritual leadership in society, into secular values and institutional models in the inter-war decades in Britain.

Grierson in particular pursued his convictions with all the reasoned moral indignation of the Reformed model of the godly nation. Bernard Aspinwall has described him as by temperament a Calvinist preacher, quoting Grierson's biographer as saying, 'He was a revolutionary, but his bombs were verbal and visual ... he enraged his congregation by simply holding a mirror up so that they could see themselves.'<sup>59</sup> In essence both the municipal reformers of Glasgow and these secular Presbyterian advocates of a mass democracy were pursuing the kind of Christian ethical vision set out by Drummond in The City without a Church, where he argued for 'a new definition of a Christian man - the perfect saint is the perfect citizen.'<sup>60</sup> The godly congregation was now seen as the civic community of the machine age that still required to be transformed in line with the transposed Calvinist moral vision of an educated, public-spirited and democratic citizenry. In this secular presbyterian model



of the Christian nation, the Christian is radically re-defined in secular terms as a citizen of the moral nation/civic church. This is a dominant idea and key organising image for the secular model's style of imagining Scottish and British nationhood. It was influential not only in civic reform movements but also in the churches.

Donald C. Smith has charted the way in which the Scottish churches responded to these movements for social and civic reform in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, in his book, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945.<sup>61</sup> Gradually the churches were adopting a more critical stance on social questions, and some were even welcoming the new civic and state involvement in areas that had formerly been seen as the proper domain of church and voluntary social work. Smith quotes one church newspaper with Church of Scotland links, St Andrew, writing, in 1899, an editorial on 'The Church and Social Problems'. The editorial had,

no reason to regret that the State and the great civic communities are attempting to solve the even yet appalling problems of physical and moral sanitation which the materialistic advance of the nation has compelled them to face.... The Church rejoices that the community, through its secular organizations, should be seeking to accomplish the Christianization of the masses by the improvement of their environment in active life, and their outlook when old age comes.<sup>62</sup>

Some in the churches at least, then, welcomed the secular

model of the Christian nation, in as much as 'the community, through its secular organisations, should be seeking to accomplish the Christianization of the masses'. Here, the 'Christianization of the masses' has moral and social rather than spiritual and evangelical resonances. It is the citizen rather than the soul which must be saved, by secular and civic means.

This emphasis on the Christian as citizen which Drummond stressed is reflected in the christology of the secular model. For Drummond, the problem was that, 'Down to the present hour almost whole nations in Europe live, worship, and die under the belief that Christ is an ecclesiastical Christ'; in the new Christian model of the nation, 'We never think of Him in connection with a Church. We cannot picture Him in the garb of a priest or belonging to any of the classes who specialize religion. His service was of a universal order. He was the Son of Man, the Citizen.'<sup>63</sup> Here is another key secular theological image for the ethical model of the Christian nation - Christ the Citizen. This Civic Christ was seen to be active outwith the church and within secular affairs as he brought in the Kingdom of God on earth: 'With Christianity as the supreme actor in the world's drama, the future of its cities is even now quite clear. Project the lines of Christian and social progress to their still far-off goal, and see even now that Heaven must come to earth.'<sup>64</sup> The nation remained confidently

under the lordship of Christ the (republican) King, as it had under the high Kingship of Christ in the Catholic model's Declaration of Arbroath, or the Reformed model's National Covenant. The tradition of high, regal christology which is one of the marks of the Scottish paradigm of the Christian nation, continued in this Christian ethical model, in a secularized but still identifiable form.

Thus, the secular presbyterian model very much remained in the tradition of the paradigm of Christian nationhood, along with the Catholic and Reformed models. Rather than looking to the church or the doctrinal gospel of Christ the King to ensure a victorious Christian nationhood, as in the Catholic and Reformed models, it was now the Christian ethic of a progressive Christ, the First Citizen, which could be sure of an ultimate, evolutionary triumph in a nation governed by Christian principle in all its parts. In the convergent lines of Christian and social progress, all men and women of goodwill could be brought together in the public life of the nation. For Christian believers the all important thing was putting their faith into action in the secular sphere. For those who had said their farewells to the God of Israel and Calvinist Scotland, the important thing was incarnating the Calvinist ideals they retained in public life. Writing of the influence of the Scottish civic ideal in America around 1900, Aspinwall links all

the exemplars and elements of this secular Calvinist model of the Christian nation which we have proposed in this chapter:

The Glasgow gospel was therefore known. It had to be propagated by education, which in turn would stimulate public opinion and produce a responsive city council. Far from being a tentative working hypothesis, Glasgow existed and worked. As Carlyle had written years before, all true work was religion, a notion that would readily be transformed into the canonisation of Main Street in the 'twenties in America. But the traditional Calvinist ideal had to be restated in a modernised form with a dose of scientific humanitarianism. Democratic aspiration had to be united with realistic assessment. Henry Drummond's 'love story' of science and religion had to be brought to fruition.... The missionary impulse was secularised, and the individualistic impulse was socialised.<sup>65</sup>

But the civic ideal offered common ground not only between Scotland and America. It was also a common middle ground for the national Church to occupy in modern twentieth century Scotland, as it adapted its sense of place and purpose in national life to the terms of this secular model of a moral nation.

#### The Common Ground - Middle Axioms

In the previous chapter it was argued that there was one last attempt to re-establish a central notion in the Reformed model of the godly nation, the necessity for a united national Church in securing Scotland's national identity, through the reunion of the Church of Scotland in 1929. That the reunion was understood in these terms is clear from the comment already quoted: 'The reunited

Church is a national symbol. One may even doubt whether there could be a Scotland without it.<sup>66</sup> In reality, there was no doubt at all. Scotland was wrestling in the 1920s with the meaning and future of its national identity quite happily without the Kirk. While the Church of Scotland remained an important national religious institution, the serious intellectual debate about national life, once conducted on the floor of the General Assembly, now took place in secular arenas like the Scottish universities and the journals of the Scottish literary renaissance associated with Hugh MacDiarmid and Lewis Grassie Gibbon.<sup>67</sup>

The triumphalist ecclesiastical rhetoric of a Christian nation rang hollow after the Great War. However, the Calvinist mind continued to provide some Scottish thinkers with fundamental ideas about human nature and knowledge, albeit shorn of their theological fleece. George Davie has noted this fact in The Crisis of the Democratic Intellect<sup>68</sup>, his history of Scottish intellectual life in this period. The debate about the direction of Scottish education in the 1920s, between the native tradition of generalist university studies and the Anglo-American specialist approach advocated by the American philosopher John Dewey, centred in part on two conflicting views of human nature. A leading Scottish philosopher of the time, Norman Kemp Smith, made a distinctive contribution to this debate through his

questioning of the optimistic view of human potential and progress that undergirded contemporary Deweyite educational thought. This high view of the possibilities of human achievement had theological roots in the teachings of Pelagius. Kemp Smith's own view of human nature embraced the Christian doctrine of original sin, as expounded by Augustine and Calvin, separating their lasting insights into human nature from what he saw as their outdated religious thought. Like them, he stressed the limitations and frailties of human nature and knowledge. He did so without reference in his teaching to the theological origins of these ideas: 'The foundation of the authority which Kemp Smith was to establish over his classes was due to the fact that he sympathised with their general post-war desire to make amends for the traditional tangle of controversies, religious and educational, inherited from the Scottish nineteenth century, and to give the country a fresh start on the basis of the kind of twentieth-century ideas which were circulating in the rest of the world.'<sup>69</sup> And yet, according to Davie, 'the new idea behind Kemp Smith's philosophy which made it surprising and interesting was a sort of secularised version of the doctrine of original sin.'<sup>70</sup>

The original feature of Kemp Smith which marked him off as quite different from other representatives of his generation was his deeply felt conviction that the new ideas deriving from men like Freud and Nietzsche, when they were properly understood, assimilated and developed, pointed forward not to the kind of brave new world

of liberated happiness expected by men like A. S. Neill, but rather to the necessity for a critical revaluation of the kind of ideas associated with Calvin so as to bring out what they had of value, separating it from what was out of date.<sup>71</sup>

Once again we see the characteristic intellectual process involved in the secular Calvinist model of Scotland, with Kemp Smith separating what he regarded as the intrinsically valuable idea from its outdated theological form, in a manner not dissimilar to that practised by our ideal type of the secular Calvinist, Thomas Carlyle.

Kemp Smith himself wrote in 1919: 'For some years I have been ambitious to write upon what I should describe as "traditional views of human nature" - meaning the Christian doctrine of original sin and the Enlightenment (or Pelagian) doctrine of human perfectability - on the lines of a plea of a better understanding of the former view.'<sup>72</sup> Kemp Smith was sympathetic to socialist state-centred planning to meet twentieth-century conditions and needs but he believed that this required a Calvinian or Augustinian view of human nature rather than a Pelagian one. He is another candidate for Stephen Maxwell's secular pulpit of presbyterian democrats who sought to take secularized Scottish Calvinist social concepts and apply them to the social, intellectual and political problems of twentieth century Britain.

Kemp Smith was not alone in this view. It was shared by his lecturer, the Scottish philosopher John

Anderson, who continued to expound it during his subsequent university teaching career in Australia. In Davie's judgement, 'this reassertion of the limitations of human nature as opposed to the doctrine held by the apostles of progress and perfectibility has to be regarded as the chief distinguishing feature of philosophy in twentieth-century Scotland, as opposed to the form philosophy took in other Western countries.'73

Clearly, the Calvinist public and national mind was not entirely dead in early twentieth century Scotland. It survived in a secularized form outwith the walls of the national church, whether at the popular level of social reform and the new public institutions of mass democracy, as argued by Maxwell, or in the intellectual heights of academic philosophy, as argued by Davie. It was transposed into secular presbyterian and Calvinist social concepts that retained their power to shape public debate about the moral nation. More thoughtful and discerning minds in the Kirk were not slow to realise this or make a response. Spurred on by the upheaval of another World War, the Church of Scotland did make one major attempt to come to grips theologically with this dominant secularized Christian ethical and social vision of the nation.

During the Second World War the Kirk's General Assembly set up a Commission for the Interpretation of



God's Will in the Present Crisis.<sup>74</sup> It was convened by a leading Scottish theologian and churchman, Professor John Baillie. The Baillie Commission, as it became known, presented annual reports to the General Assembly from 1941 to 1945. It offered fresh thinking on the shape of post-war Scottish and British society. In the judgement of Duncan Forrester, the Baillie Commission, 'played no small part in swinging public opinion, not only Christian opinion, in Scotland behind a model of post-war Britain as an egalitarian welfare state'.<sup>75</sup> Here, at least, is an example of the continuing impact of the national Kirk on the life of the nation. Donald C. Smith has given a positive evaluation of the way the Commissions's work enhanced the public role of the Kirk and extended its national influence during and after the war:

The wise lead which the Church of Scotland gave to the nation on those critical issues which came to light during the War, together with the enlightened attitude which it adopted towards the comprehensive social welfare schemes which were drafted during these years, made it possible for it to play a significant role in easing the transition to social democracy after 1945. It is not too much to say that by its vigorous pronouncements and activity in the war years, the Scottish Church helped to pave the way for that orderly transfer of power and that transformation in social and economic life which was the mark of the immediate post-war period.<sup>76</sup>

But this influence was achieved by standing on the common ethical ground of the secular Christian model of the moral nation, and not by asserting the theological and ecclesial claims of the Reformed model of the godly nation.

The Baillie Commission operated effectively in part because it took seriously the collapse of the godly commonwealth in Scotland and its transposition into Carlyle's dutiful commonwealth. In this new post-Disruption moral nation many Scots were no longer committed to the national Church's beliefs and worship but continued to adhere to Christian social and moral values. The Commission deliberately set out to relate the Christian gospel to this changed social context. This can be seen both in the kind of ethical method it adopted and in the mind of John Baillie, its convener, 'whose leadership left its mark on the work of the Commission.'<sup>77</sup>

In the second of its annual reports, presented to the General Assembly in May, 1942, the Commission set out its adoption of the concept of 'middle axioms' as its method of applying New Testament teaching to what it called 'Christian action in a mixed society'.<sup>78</sup> Middle axioms were developed in a series of international ecumenical conferences in the 1930s as an appropriate methodology for social theology. Between Christian faith and its related ethical principles on the one hand, and concrete political, economic or social policy decisions on the other, middle axioms existed as 'middle range social goals' that were theologically and ethically grounded but practically relevant to a particular time and society. Forrester has suggested that after the war

one such middle axiom was the responsibility of the government to strive to maintain full employment.<sup>79</sup> Middle axioms allowed Christian social thinkers to develop from their ruling theological principles what the Baillie Commission called 'certain secondary and more specialised principles which exhibit the relevance of the ruling principles to the particular field of action in which guidance is needed.'<sup>80</sup> One major attraction of this middle axiom approach was that it generated social goals which could be embraced by those in society who did not accept their theological source but still adhered to Christian values.

The Commission judged that such a situation prevailed in Scottish society. Their 1942 Report stated:

In this country we can count on a much more highly instructed common conscience than that (recognised by all men). We can count on a common conscience which, without being itself Christian, has nevertheless been profoundly affected by Christian ideas and ideals. There is a difference between a Christian society and a society of Christians; and to say that ours is a Christian society is neither to claim that it is a society composed exclusively of Christians nor to pretend that it satisfies even the Christian ideal for a mixed society, but means only that there is a general disposition among its members to accept the authority of such an ideal. This fact confronts the Church with a responsibility which it cannot evade. There are many in Scotland who have themselves no part in the Church's corporate life, but who are glad to think that our public life is controlled by Christian moral standards. And there are also many, even among those who adhere to other faiths, who are willing in this matter to follow an energetic Christian lead. There is, as we have seen, a returning tendency to realise that no society can hold together, especially in face of the new totalitarian tendencies, unless it be

cemented by some spiritual tradition, which is more than merely humanitarian; and even among those who do not recognise the universal validity of our faith there would be a wide recognition that in this country at least such a tradition can only be Christian.<sup>81</sup>

Middle axioms, developed out of explicitly Christian theological convictions, offered ethical common ground with those secular Scots who retained a loyalty to Christian values. Such an ethical method took account of the changed face of Scotland, with its growing number of non-church members. By adopting this line of ethical reasoning, the Baillie Commission recognised the end of the social assumption of both Catholic and Calvinist Christendom that church and society formed one overlapping ecclesiastical and social community. Scotland was now a pluralist and secular society, with one vital qualification. The values which shaped that society remained Christian and were recognised as such even by those outwith the Church's corporate life of belief and worship. This was certainly the view of the Commission's convener, John Baillie, when he gave the closing address as Moderator to the General Assembly in 1943, published under the title The Prospects for Spiritual Renewal.<sup>82</sup> Significantly Baillie set his remarks in the context of the one hundredth anniversary of the Disruption and 'the change which has overtaken us within these hundred years':

A hundred years ago the principles of the Christian faith were the solid foundations of the nation's

life. Both education and what we should now call the social services were almost entirely under the Church's control. All the great issues of the day were joined well within the circle of commitment to Christian belief, and not yet as between Christianity and something else that was not Christian. There was in the public mind an instinctive acceptance of Christian standards, so that the legal status of the Church as a national institution was but the natural expression of an evident fact. "I hold the Establishment," said Chalmers in 1830, "to be not only a great Christian good, but one indispensable to the upholding of a diffused Christianity throughout the land. How is it today? In the eyes of the law this is still a Christian country and our Church a national institution, but the reality of the situation has suffered a most alarming change. The life of our Scottish community has largely slipped its Christian moorings. The Church bells of a Sunday morning have of late years called only a minority of the population to attendance at any service of divine worship. To a large proportion of the men and women of Scotland the Church of Christ means nothing and plays no part in their life or in their thought.<sup>83</sup>

Acutely aware that the Kirk had to read aright the true condition of Scotland, Baillie did not conclude from this profound historical change that Scots outside the Christian church had reverted to paganism: 'What has happened between (Chalmers) day and ours is that the public standards of conduct have been more and more divorced from the creed and worship. Diffused Christianity today means only the surviving influence of Christian moral ideals after the impulse of worship has failed and the belief grown dim and shadowy.'<sup>84</sup> Baillie saw this as a very different situation from that of Chalmers' day, when Scotland's life as a Christian nation was taken to mean a widespread implicit acknowledgement

of the truth of the Christian creed and the duty of Christian worship.

He is describing what we have termed the secular Calvinist model of Scotland, the reduction of a Christian theological model to its ethical terms. Baillie felt that the common life of Scotland was neither Christian or pagan but secularized: 'secular means "pertaining to an age", and the age here meant is this present world - that is, the day to day round of our present transitory existence. The secularist outlook thus differs from all previous outlooks whether pagan or Christian, in being without any kind of far horizon, any ultimate background of belief, any final sanction for the routine of present behaviour.'<sup>85</sup> What was significant for Baillie was that those Scots who had embraced this secular outlook did not seem to have replaced Christian belief with any new allegiance. They had become neutral: 'Men go on living, and living decently, in observance of chivalrous and gentle manners taught them by centuries of Christian nurture and culture, but they are living in a sort of void, without any general frame of reference to give their lives a meaning.'<sup>86</sup> Baillie felt this dilemma acutely and personally:

That is the very crux and apex of the Church's problem today; and it is the crux of my own personal problem that among my neighbours and associates there should be so many men who neither worship nor believe but whose lives are in many respects a continual judgement on my own. Nor is it as if these men were pagans, practising a pagan

virtue such as might be associated with a pagan belief and worship. it is Christian virtues that they are practising, while their spirituality, though so largely neutral, is (I must repeat) at least more Christian than it is anything else.<sup>87</sup>

That Baillie captured here the essence of a particular kind of secular presbyterian Scot's experience in the 1940s is suggested in an autobiographical account by the late Professor John P. Mackintosh, M.P., of his own middle-class Edinburgh presbyterian upbringing. Describing his spiritual quest as a student from 1946, only three years after Baillie's observations were made, Mackintosh recounted his rejection of the materialist conception of history because of a feeling that certain human values must have a deeper basis than economic systems:

I also had an uneasy feeling that certain values, such as respect for human life and the rejection of certain categories of cruelty, had a deeper basis than just being the top dressing on a given economic system, though I could never prove it to my own satisfaction. Looking for a justification for these values, I became a Christian for a short period, but the idea of mass punishment of the ungodly and the improbability of this kind of divine intervention in history drew me back out of religion. But I still wish I could establish the values on which I operate and I still feel a great longing for the confidence and the qualities exhibited by the more progressive Christians.<sup>88</sup>

As in Baillie's analysis, Mackintosh felt himself to be without any ultimate background of belief or final sanction for the routine of his behaviour and the values he held, while retaining a certain nostalgia or longing



for the benefits of Christian faith. Mackintosh is one further name to add to those other Scots in Stephen Maxwell's secular pulpit whose presbyterian inheritance shaped their secular contribution to public life but whose lives are indicative of the changed relationship between church and nation in twentieth century Scotland. As with Thomas Carlyle, Mackintosh's religious crisis led on to the adoption of another creed, in his case socialism. But, in the words of Henry Drucker, the editor of Mackintosh's writings on Scotland, 'The radical spirit of Calvinist capitalism can have produced few truer sons than this Scottish Socialist.'<sup>89</sup>

Baillie saw that the Reformed model of the Christian nation operative in 1843 no longer applied a century later in a vastly changed Scotland. Just as importantly for his analysis, he also believed that the prevailing secular outlook had not thrown out Christian moral and spiritual values along with the abandonment of worship and belief. This presented the Church with its greatest challenge: 'The one supreme problem before the Church to-day is to discover the right way of bringing the Gospel to bear upon this outlook', he stated in his 1943 moderatorial address.<sup>90</sup>

Baillie's response to that challenge was twofold. First, in the sphere of national affairs, the Church must develop ethical and policy judgements derived from the



gospel - middle axioms - in the confidence that many in society would be willing to follow such a moral lead in public life. His war-time Commission stated its belief that there were many in Scotland, 'even among those who adhere to other faiths, who are willing in this matter to follow an energetic Christian lead.'<sup>91</sup> And, secondly, with regard to the Church's mission to the nation, he advocated a missionary strategy that sought not conversion from paganism but the revival of lapsed Christians from their neutral secular outlook back to renewed Christian faith and worship. If the Scottish community had slipped its Christian moorings then it was a matter of sensitively pulling on the rope to return them to their true haven within the Church.

The fundamental idea in Baillie's critique of church and nation in Scotland is similar to that of the transposition theory of secularization. The religious values and concepts of Chalmers' godly commonwealth had become transposed into an ethical model of human identity and community through which many Scots now saw their personal and national life. The moral nation had supplanted the godly nation in the national imagination. The Reformed model of Scotland saw it as a Christian nation. In coming to terms with the secular model and reality of Scotland, the Church of Scotland was now to see the country as a lapsed Christian nation. In its public utterances the Church could still give a welcome

public lead by appealing to the ethical consensus derived from the nation's Christian heritage. In its evangelism the Church could still win a hearing by calling what it saw as its lapsed members and secular parishioners back to faith and worship. In this way the Church of Scotland could retain its national role and mission in a mixed and secular society. It could make its own accommodation with the secular model, recognising the decline of Christian belief and worship but claiming a unique position for the Church as the guardian of the Christian ethics which still retained their monopoly as the nation's code of private and public morality. Here was a new approach for the Kirk to try in the post-war period, as a national institution representative not so much of the Christian faith as of the Christian ethics of the Scottish people. How successful was it? Just as the Kirk had developed this thoughtful approach to secular Scotland, the social basis for the secular model of a moral nation grounded in Christian ethics was itself in the process of collapsing, ending a reign of some one hundred years in the national imagination.

#### Shaking the Foundations: The Secular Model after 1945

The ten years after the end of the Second World War in 1945 were a kind of Indian summer for Baillie's approach to church and nation in a secular Scotland. In the immediate post-war years the Labour Government created the kind of welfare provisions and the main

political parties favoured the full employment policies that the wartime Baillie Commission had envisaged.<sup>92</sup> Its middle axiom approach to the civil order, as it called it, seemed to be vindicated and influential in the broad public consensus on social and economic policy that emerged in this period, as Forrester and Smith have argued (above).<sup>93</sup>

The Church of Scotland also made steady advances after the war. The Scottish church growth expert Peter Bisset has described the period from 1946 to 1955 as years of growth for the church, quoting the view of the Church of Scotland evangelist D. P. Thomson, 'that these were days of unparalleled opportunity when the Church's ministry and mission found a new openness and readiness of response.'<sup>94</sup> The Church of Scotland's membership reached a post-war peak of 1.32 million. Bisset describes the mood in the Kirk at that time, in his study of church growth and decline, The Kirk and her Scotland:

(After 1929 the Church of Scotland) could readily have claimed to be uniquely the Church of the nation. But the sense of destiny awakened in the re-union of 1929 had to await its hour. And it appears that it required the trauma of the Second World War to bring the day of promise. It was in the search for a new world that Scotland's Kirk came into its own, and in the aftermath of war that church membership surged forward to a new peak. While the Church of England continued its decline the Kirk advanced until in 1956 its membership reached 1.32 million. These were the dream years for the Kirk. It seemed that the Gospel was unstoppable, that Scotland had found its soul, that the Kirk was leading the nation forward to a new day of glory and grace. Those involved in the Kirk's outreach over these years

witnessed to a responsiveness that they had not hitherto known. Significantly it was the Kirk which was in the vanguard of advance. Other denominations did not experience growth in like measure. It seemed as though in the aftermath of the years of war a new unity had dawned, a new urgency to recreate the nation. The urgency was echoed in the prophetic cry of George Macleod, seeking renewal in church and society: "We shall rebuild".<sup>95</sup>

The Church of Scotland engaged in widespread mission work in these years, culminating in the Tell Scotland movement of the early 1950s, under the inspired leadership and example of Tom Allan.<sup>96</sup> John Baillie had already suggested in 1943 a fruitful metaphor for mission in Scotland in the postwar period: 'The life of our Scottish community has largely slipped from its ancient Christian moorings.'<sup>97</sup> Mission was, therefore, an outreach to lapsed Christians; what was required was for the Kirk to haul on the submerged rope of ancient Christian loyalty and to pull these lapsed Christians back into the mooring and safe harbour of church membership. This was exactly how some churchmen involved in mission at this time described the popular response. A BBC Radio Mission to Scotland had been launched in 1950, under the leadership of the religious broadcaster, the Rev. Ronnie Falconer. The success of this venture among the listening public persuaded Falconer that the churches themselves had to be involved in national mission: 'The evidence showed, as Ronnie Falconer declared, "that many people were simply waiting to be

asked into the membership of the Church".<sup>98</sup> It seemed that Baillie's lapsed secular Christians were, after all, looking for the framework of faith after the trauma of war. The churches' invitation came in the early 1950s, in the congregationally-based 'Tell Scotland' initiative, and reached a dramatic climax with the huge numbers attending and 'going forward' at the mass evangelistic 'All-Scotland Crusade' of Billy Graham in 1955.<sup>99</sup> But just when this missionary endeavour seemed to be pulling in the crowds of Baillie's lapsed Christians, the rope snapped. In 1957 the membership of the Church of Scotland (and related statistics for communion, baptism, and youth in Christian education) began to fall, and has continued to fall steeply to a level, twentyfive years later, in 1992, of around 750,000.<sup>100</sup> The dream years were short-lived and the Indian summer passed unexpectedly and quickly into an early winter for the church. And, in national affairs, the post-war consensus on a welfare-state society began to break down as well by the nineteen seventies, leaving the Church of Scotland strongly critical of certain aspects of British government policy in the nineteen eighties, associated with Margaret Thatcher's 'Sermon on the Mound' in 1988.<sup>101</sup> Why?

In answering that question, we enter on our concluding evaluation of the secular model of the Christian nation. We shall put forward two possible

sociological explanations as to why the Christian ethical model of Scotland has not been able to sustain its dominant hold on the national imagination from the nineteen fifties onwards, in the way that it did in the later nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. On one level, a simple sociological explanation can be given. The profound social and economic changes in the Britain of the 1950s and 1960s, with improved standards of living, more widespread educational, leisure and entertainment opportunities, the questioning of traditional authority, morality and institutions and the rise of the youth culture, all served to alter the social climate in which the Church of Scotland had been operating with such seeming success in the early years after the war.<sup>102</sup> If it rose on an initial tide of social optimism to rebuild Scotland, with rapid growth in church extension congregations in the new housing schemes, it toiled in the floods of economic affluence among the more prosperous or the droughts of recession among the many areas of urban and social deprivation.

The appeals of the 1950s to return to the church and faith of their parents fell on increasingly deaf ears as the post-war decades rolled on. The more permissive currents in personal and sexuality morality flowing through the 1960s seemed to leave the Church of Scotland increasingly isolated from mainstream society. It struggled with a growing indifference and even alienation

from its life and message, particularly among the younger generations of Scots.<sup>103</sup> By the 1970s the post-war consensus on public policy was also breaking apart and the commitment to a comprehensive welfare state and full employment could no longer be assumed in British politics, as the 1980s were to demonstrate.<sup>104</sup> All this is not a tale of ecclesiastical doom so much as the charting of the social and cultural changes which have brought the traditional Christian ethical values into question. It is precisely these Christian ethical values which the secular model of the Christian nation had always assumed would remain the common moral currency of public and private life, even in an age of unbelief.<sup>105</sup>

In particular, two fundamental assumptions no longer seem to be intellectually credible or sociologically plausible. The secular model envisaged a moral nation in which the church's Christian social ethics would remain the bedrock of its public life as well as its private morality long after the edifice of worship and belief had crumbled in the earthquake of modern unbelief. And the sophisticated use Baillie made of that model of secularization assumed that the Church would remain an influential national institution which gave a welcome moral lead in public life. As we have already noted, the Baillie approach believed that there were many, 'even among those who adhere to other faiths, who are willing in this matter to follow an energetic

Christian lead.' In its final 1945 report, the Commission was hopeful that the nation, after its war-time experience fighting totalitarian, anti-Christian fascism, would recognise the Christian basis of its ethical principles in public life:

... there is now among us a much more explicit awareness of the extent to which the ethical principles, on which as a nation we have taken our stand, derive from Christian teaching. There are indeed many who, while recognising the original association of these principles of conduct with Christian beliefs concerning God and the world, hold that they must make a shift to survive without the help of any such beliefs; yet the question as to whether this is possible ... is widely recognised to be very much an open one....

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The experience of the later nineteen fifties and down to the present would seem to suggest that such a 'window of opportunity', in which an ethical confrontation with totalitarianism might lead to a re-consideration of the Christian belief underpinning such values, closed very quickly as Scots enjoyed the vistas of a more affluent post-war era, and put entertainment before evangel.

But there may be a more complex sociological explanation for the decline of the secular model of the Christian nation. The simple explanation above focussed on the questioning, ignoring or rejecting of Christian ethical values in Scottish society from the 1950s onwards. Such an explanation is only partially helpful. It ignores the extent to which certain transposed Christian and indeed Calvinist social values, for



example, the values of community, equality and responsibility for the poor, may have survived and indeed flourished in Scottish society into the nineteen eighties; in as much as such values lay behind the Scottish public and middle class rejection of the individualistic values underlying British government policy in this period.<sup>107</sup> The election of John Smith as leader of the Labour Party in 1992 also brought to the fore a Scottish presbyterian and Kirk elder who proclaimed publicly the Christian ethical basis for his socialism.<sup>108</sup> The Scottish commitment to certain public, rather than private, Christian ethical values has not gone completely from national life .

The second and more complex sociological explanation focuses attention on the changes in the national identity of the Christian nation itself, which the secular model sought to underpin, rather than solely on the fate of the transposed Christian ethical values that it sought to embody in the life of that nation. The secular model may be in decline because of the social changes underpinning the rise of Scottish nationalism in the post-war period. The social historian Callum Brown and the sociologist David McCrone have separately argued that the decline in the appeal of Protestant and imperial Britain in the post-war period, and the parallel rise in the appeal of Scottish political nationalism, may have some connection with the decline of the Church of Scotland in the same

period; in as much as the Kirk was seen as an important institutional expression of Scottish/British Protestant national identity in the imperial era.

We have argued in this chapter that after the collapse of the Reformed model of Scottish nationhood, it was replaced in the Christian national imagination by a secularized Calvinist model which sought to maintain Scotland's Christian identity as a nation through the universal acceptance of transposed Christian ethical values in secular life. But that model of Scotland as a Christian nation was also wedded to a Scottish national identity within the wider Protestant and imperial world that held sway from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. What were seen as universal Christian ethical values may also have been inextricably linked to the particular Protestant and imperial images of national identity operating in Scottish society in this period.<sup>109</sup> From the nineteen fifties onwards, 'after Suez', that British imperial identity went into decline, with significant political consequences in Scotland for both church and nation.<sup>110</sup> But, more fundamentally than just the end of Britain's imperial era, some social analysts have suggested that we are witnessing in the later twentieth century the end of the 'modern world' of the great imperial nation-states, and entering the 'post-modern' world, with particular consequences for Scotland.

The sociologist David McCrone offers just such an analysis of social change in his book, Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation.<sup>111</sup> There he argues that the rise of political nationalism in late twentieth century Scotland can best be understood as a phenomenon of the 'post-modern' world. While Scotland was traditionally seen as an anomaly of the modern world by sociologists who took the nation-state to be the norm in advanced industrial society, it now 'stands at the forefront of sociological concerns in the late twentieth century. Rather than being an awkward, ill-fating case, it is at the centre of the discipline's post-modern dilemma.'<sup>112</sup>

An underlying assumption of academic sociology has been that 'state, society and nation are coterminous' in modern society, not least 'British society'. But, notes McCrone,

Since the 1980s the classical paradigms of sociology associated with modernity have continued to be questioned.... Modernity had associated itself with industrialism and organised capitalism; post-modernity focused on consumerism and "disorganised" capitalism. Modernity had aligned the national economy, polity and culture in such a way that citizenship and an allegiance to the sovereign state provided a clear and unambiguous identity. Post-modernity, on the other hand, pointed to the limited nature of state sovereignty in an inter-dependent world, and highlighted the often contradictory and competing identities on offer.... The debate about 'class de-alignment' and the broadening of politics beyond the narrowly material were but symptoms of major shifts in late-twentieth-century societies.<sup>113</sup>

Seen from such a post-modern perspective, the modern nation-state is losing much of its old monopoly of power to multinational and global economic and political institutions, while at the same there is a resurgence of movements for local, ethnic and civil autonomy offering citizens competing loyalties and identities. While local or ethnic nationalisms may be rooted in the past, they are also part of general processes at work in the post-modern world of economic, political and cultural globalisation. McCrone argues that:

These are general processes at work in the contemporary world, but they forefront Scotland in a novel and interesting way.... the survival of Scotland as a nation and the assertion of nationalism more generally in the late twentieth century set it at the centre of current sociological concerns. The fact that it can claim to be a nation without a state in the conventional sense does not mean that it remains an anomaly in the modern world, as judged by the more traditional perspective of 'modernity'. Rather, Scotland becomes an example of those fissiparous tendencies threatening to remake the world political order, an order in which the correspondence between states, societies and nations is no longer clear cut.<sup>114</sup>

Where does the Church of Scotland stand in the midst of the kind of post-modern developments that McCrone is arguing for in Scotland? It is at least a coincidence deserving of further investigation that the mid-1950s witnessed the high tide of both Church of Scotland membership and political Unionism in Scotland before both bodies experienced a sharp decline in support. Is there any connection between these two trends, in the sense that changes in Scottish society's

sense of nationhood affected institutions representing the national loyalties of a passing social order?

We have already noted the decline in Church of Scotland membership from 1957. The Conservative (then known as the Unionist) party reached its highest vote, 50.1%, and a simple majority of Scottish MPs, 36 out of 71, in the 1955 general election. Since then, its vote and parliamentary representation has been in decline, receiving just over 25% of the vote and winning eleven seats in the 1992 General Election.<sup>115</sup> In the same period the support for the Scottish National Party has risen from 0.5% to over 20% in the 1992 general election.<sup>116</sup> Two tendencies may be seen to be at work in this period, both typifying the post-modern breakdown of the 'clear and unambiguous identity' of the modern British nation-state. On the one hand, it may be that the Church of Scotland ceased to be the carrier of a Protestant sense of national identity from the 1950s onwards. While, on the other hand, the Conservative party itself began to lose its hold on Protestant working class support for a British imperial identity that helped to ensure its postwar electoral success in Scotland. McCrone has noted the results of surveys showing some continuing correspondence between Protestant affiliation and Conservative voting in Scotland:

These surveys were carried out in the 1960s when many of the social mechanisms underlying Catholic-Labour and Protestant-Conservative voting

associations were losing their force, but they do testify to the power of Unionism to mobilise an older - essentially Protestant - sense of what it meant to be Scottish. As Callum Brown has pointed out, even as late as 1986, 45 per cent of Kirk members claimed to vote Tory ( and only 17 per cent Labour).... This identity consisted of a complex of inter-related elements of Protestantism and Unionism welded together by a strong sense of British national and imperial identity, and symbolised by the Union Jack (still an emblem of Glasgow Rangers football club) This version of Scottishness was not at odds with Conservative rhetoric about British national and imperial identity, given the powerful strand of militarism which ran through Scottish society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The mobilisation of men for war during the later imperial period and on through two World Wars helped to fit together Scottish and British identities. The connection was reinforced by the religious factor, which in turn received emotional resonance and respectability from the national and imperial elements of the complex.<sup>117</sup>

McCrone is describing the historical and social context out of which emerged the ideas and exemplars of the secular model of the Christian nation offered in this thesis. The link between the religious-Protestant and imperial-British dimensions of this model's way of imagining Scottish national identity are clearly argued and established by McCrone. Their fate may also have been inter-twined from the nineteen fifties onwards.

The Suez crisis and then the independence of former colonies brought the imperial dimension of British identity to an end by the 1960s. It was paralleled in Scotland by the rise in the 1960s and 1970s of growing support for Scottish nationalism and falling support for Unionism. Part of that change, at least, is linked to the

decline of traditional Protestant loyalty to a presbyterian Scotland within the British Union. As the political scientist James Mitchell commented in his 1990 study of Scottish Conservatism and the Union:

'Conservatism or Unionism in Scotland today is of a quite different kind from that of only twenty years ago. The social and cultural meaning of Unionism, concerned with Presbyterianism, is now largely irrelevant...'.<sup>118</sup> The Church of Scotland and Protestant religious loyalties were no longer seen as a main carrier of the dual Scottish and British sense of national identity.

The social historian Callum Brown has suggested just such a possible connection between the decline of the Church of Scotland and the shifting focus of national identity in Scotland. Brown's analysis shows that presbyterianism declined in two stages. While a decline in church activity can be detected from 1890, and the rate of growth in church affiliation dropped after 1900, it was not until 1957 that the decline in church membership began. It seems that there was even a slight growth in church connection from 1900-1957, 'indicating a popular desire to remain in institutional association while participating substantially less' in church life:

An explanation for this may rest in the connection between presbyterianism and Scottish national consciousness. Until the 1950s the Church of Scotland and the dissenting presbyterian churches were symbols of the nation's Protestant heritage, expressed through identification with church-aligned candidates at



elections to ad hoc authorities, in low presbyterian voting for Catholic candidates of whatever party at municipal or parliamentary elections, in the confused nationalist sentiments aroused in campaigns both for the maintenance of the Established Church and for dissenting voluntaryism, and in the equally confused patriotism for the preservation of Scottish parish schools as well as their abolition as symbols of an educational system allowed to atrophy under English government neglect. But since the 1950s, the drift away from presbyterian standards and practices in the Church of Scotland, the clergy's hostility to expressing even an intellectual anti-catholicism, and the rise of political nationalism in the form of the Scottish National Party in the 1960s and 1970s have assisted in the displacement of the churches as focuses of national identity. For the non-churchgoing majority of Scottish presbyterians, church membership was maintained for so long as the Kirk stood for the nation's religious heritage. However strongly the nation's heritage is seen in other, non-religious ways, it is now little regarded in religious terms.<sup>119</sup>

Brown is suggesting here that a shift in the sense of Scottish nationhood from the 1950s onwards may have been one factor in the numerical decline of the Church of Scotland. This can be put in another way. What in fact was in decline was not so much the Church of Scotland as a community of Christian believers and worshippers but the 'Christian nation in the Protestant sense' that had arisen in post-reformation Scotland and that had survived through the modern era of the British imperial nation-state, from the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. As a key, central institution in upholding that form of surviving Scottish national consciousness within the dual Scottish-British nationality of the British Union, the Church of Scotland was bound to be adversely affected by its decline.



What the Church of Scotland may have to come to terms with, as much as secularization and membership decline, is the change in the nature of Scottish nationhood, understood in post-modern terms, in order that it might rethink the nature of its calling as the national Church. The Church of Scotland is no longer facing a 'modern nation' in the sense that Scots now no longer see themselves so predominantly in terms of an all-inclusive loyalty to the British nation-state. Nor can the Church of Scotland rely on its historic national role within the British nation-state, maintained even in the 'modern era', as a major factor in drawing Scots into formal membership. McCrone has offered a post-modern interpretation of this development. He has suggested that the rise in support for nationalism in Scotland may be indicative of a wider phenomenon in Western societies, the move away from the traditional loyalties and all-embracing class, state and religious identities of modern industrial society towards more indeterminate and varied loyalties and fragmented identities.

Studies of SNP supporters in the 1960s and 1970s showed many of them to be young, upwardly mobile and less tied to the old class and political commitments in their social backgrounds, and therefore more open to the 'classless' and new appeal of nationalism. McCrone sees this as a social rather than narrowly political phenomenon:

If, instead of treating nationalism as a political party as Hobsbawm does, we view it as a social movement, as a fragile and heterogeneous construction, we might treat nationalist and autonomist movements as, in Melucci's words, 'nomads of the present', vehicles for collective action with an indeterminate end. The broad and diffuse, the 'non-political', appeal of nationalism seems to make it a movement of the twentyfirst rather than the nineteenth century. Its commitment to the post-materialist values of autonomy, authenticity and accountability place 'post-nationalism' firmly in the future not the past.<sup>120</sup>

If Scotland's future as a nation does lie in this post-modern direction, as McCrone argues, then this will require fundamental re-thinking on the part of the Church of Scotland as to its national role in such a society. If it is no longer the theological base for a relatively stable, modern industrial nation, operating on the common moral infrastructure of the Christian ethic, as the Baillie Commission brilliantly and radically analysed and argued, then we must ask, where does its future Christian mission lie in a very different, postmodern Scotland? If, as we have argued, the secular Christian ethical model of Scottish nationhood was firmly rooted in the 'modern' context of the imperial and Protestant British nation-state, then it can no longer be a plausible or credible model in a post-modern era. Indeed, the seven centuries-old paradigmatic tradition, in which Scotland was imagined as a Christian nation, may itself be coming to an end with the demise of its latest, secular model. Any new Christian theological response to questions of post-modern Scottish nationhood and nationalism may require a profound

paradigm shift away from the pre-modern (Catholic), early modern (Reformed) and late modern (secular Calvinist) models of Scotland as a Christian nation.

The Baillie Commission set out to develop a model of church and nation for a modern, secular Scotland, holding on to the old ideal of a Christian nation. We have argued that we may be facing a different post-modern Scotland where it may no longer be possible to imagine or inhabit a Christian nation. And yet, in a paradox to rival the 'Knoxian paradox' of Scottish nationalism, the emerging model for a new paradigm of post-national church and post-modern nation can, perhaps, be found in the Baillie Commission itself, and the conclusion of its final report. Ultimately it is not the Church of Scotland's historic role in maintaining a 'Christian nation' that is its fundamental calling:

In the last resort the Church's duties are two, and two only. One is so to proclaim the word of God that the hearts and minds of men are kept open to the realities of the spiritual world. That is its first and greatest duty. But the other is like unto it, and it is to open, and to keep open, the hearts and minds of men to one another's needs.<sup>121</sup>

Here is an alternative Christian paradigm for a post-modern church and nation in the 1990s and beyond. The churches in the twentyfirst century may be called to work ecumenically for an 'open nation'; that is, a nation open to the Word of God and to the human and environmental needs of the neighbour, and open to the wider loyalties of

Europe and the global village, rather than a 'Christian nation' as it was understood in the modern, industrial era of the protestant British nation-state. To fulfill that calling in a post-modern context will require a shift away from the historic and exclusive role of a national Church in maintaining the fabric of the Christian nation. It will require the action of the churches together in Scotland, as an ecumenical community in an open nation - open to the gospel and open to the neighbour. The final chapter will consider the necessity for such a paradigm shift and the possible emergence of a new Christian paradigm - Scotland imagined as an open nation.

#### Notes

1. Michael Fry, Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), p.52.
2. See Fry, pp.30-66, on the consequences of the Disruption in national political and institutional life, including Scottish education.
3. See Olive Checkland, Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social welfare and the Voluntary Principle (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), p.32: '... charitable work produced schemes for the Christianisation of the working population, the 'unchurched masses'... The churches thus attempted to reach those large numbers who had no church allegiance or, as Chalmers graphically put it, busied themselves 'excavating the heathen'.
4. See Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730 (London: Methuen, 1987), pp.57-88.

5. On this period of socio-economic change in Scotland, see T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1972), pp.195-486, and A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950 (London: Collins, 1986); T. M. Devine, Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), People and Society in Scotland: A Social History of Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald), Volume I, 1760-1830 (1988), and W. Hamish Fraser, R. J. Morris (eds.), Volume II, 1830-1914 (1990); Rosalind Mitchison, Life in Scotland (London: Batsford, 1978), pp.95-137; A. Allan MacLaren (ed.), Social Class in Scotland: Past and Present (Edinburgh: John Donald, nd); Bruce Lenman, An Economic History of Modern Scotland (London: Batsford, 1977), pp.67-205; S. G. E. Lythe, J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939 (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975), pp.87-200.

6. See George Davie, The Democratic Intellect (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961).

7. See A. C. Cheyne, The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland's Religious Revolution (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1983), pp.37-87.

8. See n.1, and Bernard Aspinwall, Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States 1820-1920 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984).

9. See Fry, chs. 3,4,6; M. Keating, D. Bleiman, Labour and Scottish Nationalism (London: Macmillan, 1979), pp.1-58; Christopher Harvie, 'Before the Breakthrough, 1888-1922', in Ian Donnachie, Christopher Harvie, Ian S. Wood (eds.), Forward! Labour Politics in Scotland 1888-1988 (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), pp.7-29.

10. See H. J. Hanham, Scottish Nationalism (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), pp.64-96; Christopher Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1977 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1977), chs.1-3; Keith Webb, The Growth in Scottish Nationalism (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), pp.46-65; Fry, pp.201-11.

11. Alan Shelston (ed.), Thomas Carlyle: Selected Writings (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p.7.

12. Ibid., p.10.

13. Ibid., p.16.

14. A. O. J. Cockshut, 'Carlyle, Thomas', in The New Encyclopaedia Britannica 15th edition (Chicago: William Benton, 1978) Vol. 3, p.924.
15. For a study of the effects of secularization on the European Christian mind, see Owen Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the 19th Century (1st edn., 1975, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Canto edition, 1990). He states the dilemma we are concerned with in its Scottish context, as it affects the Christian imagining of Scottish nationhood, in the wider European context.
16. Cheyne, p.60.
17. James Anthony Froude, Thomas Carlyle: A History of his Life in London 1834-1881, Volume I (London: Longmans Green, 1884), pp.12-3.
18. Froude, Volume II, p.19.
19. Shelston, p.28.
20. Froude, Vol I, ch.11, cited in Shelston, p.7.
21. See Cheyne, pp.37-59; Chadwick, pp.161-88.
22. See Chadwick, Part II, pp.143-266.
23. Shelston, pp.16-7; see also pp.16-20, and Carlyle's own essay Signs of the Times, pp.59-85.
24. On sociological theories of secularization, see Robin Gill, Social Context of Theology (Oxford: Mowbrays, 1975), Part Three, pp.83-136, and Prophecy and Praxis (London: Marshall Morgan & Scott, 1981), pp.44-58; Bryan Wilson, Religion in a Secular Society (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1969); David Martin, A General Theory of Secularization (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978); P. E. Glasner, 'Secularization', in C. L. Mitton (ed.), The Social Sciences and the Churches (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1972), pp.246-57, and The Sociology of Secularisation (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977); David Lyon, The Steeple's Shadow: On the Myths and Realities of Secularization (London: SPCK, 1985); Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (New York, New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books, 1969), Part II, pp.105-171.
25. See Gill, Social Context of Theology, pp.109-10.
26. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York, New York: Scribners, 1958).

27. Gill, Prophecy and Praxis, p.46. See pp.44-58 for a fuller discussion of the transposition theory of secularization.
28. Stephen Maxwell, 'The Secular Pulpit: Presbyterian Democracy in the Twentieth Century', in The Scottish Government Year Book, 1982, pp.181-98.
29. Gill, Prophecy and Praxis, pp.130-1.
30. John Dwyer, Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), p.19.
31. See Anand Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History (London: Croom Helm, 1976), pp.43-74. On the Moderates view of the role of the church in society, Anand notes, p.68, 'For them the Church was not only to interpenetrate society, but itself bore an analogy to society. Their ideal was a broad-based and undogmatic Kirk, with the Assembly being the focus for all aspects of national life.' The concern of the Moderates, especially under the leadership of Principal William Robertson, to lead and control the General Assembly, is indicative of the strength of their commitment to the centrality and importance of the Kirk in national life.
32. Andrew Drummond, James Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843 (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1973), pp.45-113, for a study of the views of the Moderates. Although the eighteenth century was a period of questioning theological orthodoxy, with which the Moderates are associated, the Moderates as a church party did not formally move to change the Kirk's confessional standard of federal Calvinist orthodoxy.
33. Chitnis, p.68.
34. Henry Drummond, 'The City without a Church', in The Greatest Thing in the World (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913, only one of many editions, and still being reprinted in the 1980s).
35. Cheyne, p.78.
36. Drummond, p.127-8.
37. See Bernard Aspinwall, 'Scottish Religious Identity 1880-1914', in Stuart Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), p.509. The English social reformer W. T. Stead coined this term, 'civic church', and described it as a 'moral caucus', but he regarded Glasgow and the Scottish civic model as the premier embodiments and examples of these ideas.



38. Ibid., p.167.
39. Ibid., pp.130, 131, 133, 134, 144-5, 172-3.
40. Ibid., p.142.
41. Ibid., p.165.
42. Ibid., p.137.
43. Bernard Aspinwall, 'Glasgow Trams and American Politics 1894-1914', The Scottish Historical Review Vol. 56 (1977), p.72.
44. Christopher Harvie, 'Before the Breakthrough, 1886-1922', in Donnachie, Harvie, Wood, pp.9,10. Harvie has also noted the survival of what we have termed residual images from the Reformed model of the covenant nation, in the thinking of the Scottish Left in the earlier twentieth century, p.19: 'Dr Iain Maclean has drawn attention to the Covenanting imagery with which the Scottish left surrounded itself. This did not only reflect the predominantly Protestant nature of the skilled workmen and their organisation, but a doctrinal exclusiveness and disputatiousness which was fundamental to the Scottish Calvinist tradition, and had been earlier evident in the attachment of educated workmen to "questions of controversial divinity".' See Harvie's reference, Iain Maclean, The Labour Movement in Clydeside Politics 1914-22 Oxford D. Phil Thesis, (1971), p.149-51.
45. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, n.8.
46. Ibid., Introduction, pp.xii,xiii.
47. On this range of civic reforms concerns and their Christian ethical motivation, see Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, chs.4,5., and 'Glasgow Trams and American politics 1894-1914'.
48. Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Scottish Religious Identity in the Atlantic World 1880-1914', in Stuart Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity, p.505.
49. Ibid., pp.507-9.
50. Gill, Prophecy and Praxis, p.56.
51. Aspinwall 'The Scottish Religious Identity in the Atlantic World 1880-1914', p.505, n.1, 'Compare Henry Drummond, 'The City in many of its functions is a greater church than the church.' The City without a Church'.
52. Ibid., p.507.



53. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, p.44.
54. Ibid., p.173.
55. See n.28 above.
56. Maxwell, p.195.
57. Ibid, p.191.
58. Ibid., p.193.
59. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, p.187.
60. Drummond, p.133.
61. Donald C. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945 (New York, New York: Peter Lang, 1987), Part Four, 'The Gradual Awakening of Social Criticism: 1880-1945', pp.245-356.
62. Ibid., pp.287-8.
63. Drummond, p.158, 154.
64. Ibid., p.140.
65. Aspinwall, Portable Utopia, p.165.
66. Peter Bisset, The Kirk and Her Scotland (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1986), p.5.
67. See George Davie, The Crisis of the Democratic Intellect (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1986), for an account of Scottish intellectual life in the period after the first world war.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p.49.
70. Ibid., p.50.
71. Ibid., pp.49-50.
72. Ibid., p.52.
73. Ibid., p.50.
74. See God's Will for Church and Nation (London: SCM Press, 1946), 'reprinted from the Reports of the Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis, as presented to the General Assembly of

the the Church of Scotland during the War Years.'; and as in the records of the General Assembly, 1941-45.

75. Duncan B. Forrester, Christianity and the Future of Welfare (London: Epworth, 1985), p.41.

76. Smith, pp.380-1. See pp.372-81 for Smith's analysis of the Baillie Commission reports.

77. Forrester, Christianity and the Future of Welfare, p.38.

78. God's Will for Church and Nation, pp.32-50. See Donald C. Smith, pp.377-9, on the use of middle axioms in the reports; and Duncan B. Forrester, Beliefs, Values and Policies: Conviction Politics in a Secular Age (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), ch.2, 'Principles and Policies', pp.16-35, for a theological critique of middle axiom methodology.

79. See Forrester, Christianity and the Future of Welfare, pp.38-41.

80. God's Will for Church and Nation, p.45.

81. Ibid., pp.47-8.

82. John Baillie, The Prospects for Spiritual Renewal (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1943).

83. Ibid., pp.7-8.

84. Ibid., p.18.

85. Ibid., p.10.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., pp.19-20.

88. John P. Mackintosh, 'Forty Years On', in In Memory of John P. Mackintosh (London: Political Quarterly Publishing Co., 1979), p.42.

89. Henry Drucker (ed.), John P. Mackintosh on Scotland (London: Longman, 1982), p.15.

90. Baillie, p.10.

91. God's Will for Church and Nation, p.47.

92. See Alan Sked, Chris Cook, Post-War Britain: A Political History (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979); Vernon Bogdanor, Robert Skidelsky (eds.), The Age of Affluence 1951-1964 (London: Macmillan, 1970); Peter Calvocoressi, The British Experience 1945-75 (Harmondsworth: Penguin,

1979), pp.9-62; Christopher Harvie, No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1914-80 (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), pp.88-116; T. C. Smout, A Century of the Scottish People, pp.181-208.

93. See Forrester, Christianity and the Future of Welfare, pp.26-43. Donald C. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Criticism, pp.380-1.

94. Bisset, p.14. Bisset also notes, however, in the sentence following this statement, that the forces of social change in the 1950s were to alter this situation radically, p.14, 'The tragedy was that these days should soon have been engulfed by an era of change in which their joyful promise appears to have been almost extinguished.' Bisset then cites Christopher Booker's view of the changing social context in 1950s Britain, p.14: '"Anyone who looks at the evolution of British social history', writes Christopher Booker in his perceptive book The Neophyliaes, "must be struck by the profound change that took place around the year 1956."'

95. Ibid., p.7.

96. On his approach to mission, see Tom Allan, The Face of My Parish (London: SCM Press, 1954). For a critical sociological evaluation of the churches and mission in the post-war period, see John Highet, The Churches in Scotland Today: A Survey of their Principles, Strength, Work and Statements (Glasgow: Jackson, 1950), and The Scottish Churches: A Review of their State 400 Years after the Reformation (London: Skeffington, 1960); for a church growth critique, see Bisset, The Kirk and Her Scotland.

97. Baillie, p.7.

98. Bisset, p.9.

99. See Highet, The Scottish Churches, pp.64-122 passim; and Bisset, pp.10-4.

100. For statistics and an account of this decline, see Bisset. A wider interpretative model of church decline in modern Britain can be found in Robin Gill, Beyond Decline: A Challenge to the Churches (London: SCM Press, 1988).

101. On the end of the post-war consensus, see Forrester, Christianity and the Future of Welfare, pp.44-61; and Arthur Marwick, British Society since 1945 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), pp.188-277: Marwick states, p.188, 'If, in broad outline, the period of 'consensus' with which this book began could be seen as containing the story of the determination to escape from the Depression conditions of the 1930s, the story of the middle and late seventies might well be seen as one of a

return to the gloom of that "devil's decade". On the Church of Scotland (and the wider Churches in Britain) and church criticism of the British government's neo-liberal economic and social policies in the nineteen eighties, see Hugh Montefiore, Christianity and Politics (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Alison Elliot, Duncan B. Forrester (eds.), The Scottish Churches and the Political Process Today (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1986); William Storrar, Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision (Edinburgh: Handsel, 1990), pp.1-8.

102. See Marwick, Part Two, 'Roads to Freedom 1957-72', pp.114-185, for an account of the liberalising and anti-authority trends in a more affluent British society; also Christopher Harvie, No Gods and Precious Few heroes, pp.152-158, for social trends in Scotland in this period.

103. See Bisset, pp.14-5, 20. See p.14, 15, 'A new society was on the march. Social revolution was in the air. Unhappily it appears that the Church's dream world [the years of the Kirk's expansion, 1945-55] was not the dream of a new age. It was longing for the dear dead days beyond recall. A new generation gave notice that it was on the move.... The youthful hostility identified by Christopher Booker first appeared for the Kirk in the exodus of its young. The post war years had been a boom time for Sunday Schools. The children of the dream years had flocked to crowded church halls, and overflowed into schools in the new housing schemes. By 1957 there were signs of a change. In 1958 the General Assembly set up a Commission to enquire into the falling numbers recorded in the Kirk's youth statistics. The signs were there of the end of an era. The post war generation now coming near to the end of the Sunday School years was giving notice that the dream was over.... There are the beginnings of a rejection of the conformities required by conventional religion, and in the midst of it all little sign that the years of mission have brought any new dynamism to the life of the Kirk sufficient to meet the challenge of these disturbing days.' It is the argument of this thesis that such dynamism can only come about through a paradigm shift in the Kirk's understanding of Scotland itself.

104. See n.100.

105. For a recent study of values among Church of Scotland members and the general public in Scotland, see Lifestyle Survey (Edinburgh: Quorum Press/Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility, 1987).

106. God's Will for Church and Nation, p.178.

107. See Christianity and Social Vision: Looking to the Future of Scotland (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1990); Magnus Linklater, Robin Denniston (eds.), Anatomy of Scotland: How Scotland Works (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992), pp.1-5; Andrew Marr, The Battle for Scotland (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), pp.167-80.

108. See reports on John Smith in The Scotsman newspaper, June, July 1992 passim.

109. See the works of Bernard Aspinwall cited above for a full study of the Protestant and imperial dimensions of an ethically-based (imagined) Scottish national identity: in particular, Portable Utopia, p.xii, where Aspinwall links Protestant and imperial self-confidence to the ethical and religious framework of the Glasgow civic ideal: 'The expansion of the English-speaking world through the United States and the British Empire - in population, territory and wealth - justified the most sanguine expectations. Everywhere democracy and Protestantism seemed to be in the ascendancy and autocratic Catholicism was in full retreat. The triumph of the well-to-do entrepreneurial evangelical elements seemed at hand. Within the Atlantic world, Glasgow as the Second City of the British Empire embodied that confidence. The Scottish contribution to America was funnelled through Glasgow, which exported educational entrepreneurial and engineering expertise within an ethical and religious framework.'

110. See James Mitchell, Conservatives and the Union: A Study of Conservative Party Attitudes to Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p.9, 'Implicit in the notion of Unionism lay the belief in British Greatness - a notion challenged by Irish secession, later by decolonization, and by Scottish nationalism later still. It is significant that following the Suez debacle, the most severe blow to British greatness since 1945 calls for changes in the (Unionist) party in Scotland ... were made.'

111. David McCrone, Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992).

112. Ibid., p.1.

113. Ibid., pp.8-9.

114. Ibid., p.10.

115. See Marr, The Battle for Scotland, p.175; and James Mitchell, Conservatives and the Union.

116. See Magnus Linklater, Robin Denniston, Anatomy of Scotland, pp.393.
117. McCrone, p.158.
118. James Mitchell, p.130.
119. Callum Brown, The Social History of Religion in Scotland, pp.252-3.
120. McCrone, p.221.
121. God's Will for Church and Nation, p.182.

This thesis began by addressing the nature of contextual theology in Scotland. It was proposed that there was a tradition of contextual theology in Scotland at least seven centuries old - a contextual theology of Scottish national identity and nationhood. This Scottish contextual theological tradition centred on the image of Scotland as a Christian nation, a community imagined in terms of a Christian identity. A distinction was made, drawing on the work of the American theologian Robert Schreiter, between contextual theologies of identity and contextual theologies of liberation. Schreiter suggests that, 'They differ principally in how they read the dynamics and dominant needs of their social contexts.'<sup>1</sup> Both types of contextual theology recognise the dynamics of social and historical change at work in every social context. They differ in how they read these dynamic processes of change.

Contextual theologies of identity are, as their name suggests, concerned to affirm the cultural identity and dignity of people in the context of change and address a whole range of concrete and particular local issues related to ethnic, racial, gender or national identities. For our purposes, they may be concerned with the task of forging or affirming nationhood and national



identity. Such theologies of identity are concerned to explore the ways in which Christian theology and practice can enhance the local identity and continuity of a particular social context.<sup>2</sup>

Contextual theologies of liberation, on the other hand, are concerned with the oppressive and dehumanizing aspects of the dynamics of social change.<sup>3</sup> They seek to analyse the processes of social, economic, cultural and political oppression at work in particular societies and human contexts, especially the areas of conflict and discontinuity in social relations; and to engage in a struggle to win liberation from such oppression, through contextual reflection on the biblical witness and the liberating meaning of salvation in Jesus Christ. In the introduction to the revised edition of his book, A Theology of Liberation, Gustavo Gutierrez gives his understanding of the nature of the 'liberation' in liberation theology, as 'integral liberation':

... liberation was seen as something comprehensive, an integral reality from which nothing is excluded.... I distinguished three levels or dimensions of liberation in Christ.... First there is liberation from social situations of oppression and marginalization that force many (and indeed all in one or another way) to live in conditions contrary to God's will for their life. But it is not enough that we be liberated from oppressive socio-economic structures; also needed is a personal transformation by which we live with a profounder inner freedom in the face of every kind of servitude, and this is the second dimension or level of liberation. Finally, there is liberation from sin, which attacks the deepest root of all servitude; for sin is the breaking of friendship with God and with other human beings, and therefore



cannot be eradicated except by the unmerited redemptive love of the Lord whom we receive by faith and in communion with one another. Theological analysis (and not social or philosophical analysis) leads to the position that only liberation from sin gets to the very source of social injustice and other forms of human oppression and reconciles us with God and our fellow human beings.<sup>4</sup>

It is this three-fold integral definition of liberation - as social, personal and spiritual liberation in Christ - which will be adopted in this thesis, in arguing later in this chapter for a contextual theology and paradigm of liberation as the basis of a new Christian approach to Scottish nationhood.

It has been the argument of this thesis, in chapters 2-4, that the Scottish contextual theological tradition has been one predominantly of contextual theologies of identity; although the argument has recognised an emerging, minority tradition of contextual theologies of liberation that point forward to a new Christian paradigm of liberation for Scotland. The dominant contextual theological tradition, however, has been concerned to address questions of Scottish nationhood and national identity, and to inform and enhance that identity in Christian terms. Its dominant idea has been that of Scotland as a Christian nation.

Methodologically, the thesis began by suggesting that the primary analytical concepts of the paradigm and the model, offered appropriate and insightful research

and clarificatory tools to understand and evaluate this Scottish tradition of contextual theologies of Christian nationhood. The overall contextual theological tradition of the Christian nation was described as a theological paradigm, in which the tradition of Scotland's Christian national identity was transmitted historically through historical exemplars.<sup>5</sup> The paradigm concept was seen as helpful for exploring the sociological, historical and theological dimensions of Christian nationhood; sociologically and historically, in as much as the paradigm operated in particular social contexts in the history of Scottish nationhood, from the fourteenth century to the present; and theologically, in as much as the paradigm transmitted particular ideas about the nature of Christian national identity. Within the paradigm of the identity of the Christian nation, we recognised both the theoretical possibility of diverse organising images or models and the historical reality of different ways of understanding or imagining the Christian national identity of Scotland. These different ways of imagining, or 'imaging', were seen as the several models of the Christian nation within the over-arching paradigm.

The model was defined as the 'symbolic representation of selected aspects of the behaviour of a complex system for particular purposes.'<sup>6</sup> Religious models were seen as analogical: 'They are organising

images used to order and interpret patterns of experience in human life.'<sup>7</sup> In this case, they were distinctive organising images of Christian nationhood, used to order and interpret patterns of Scottish Christian experience of national consciousness, nationhood and national identity.

The notion of the religious, or rather theological model as an organising image fitted well with the conceptual definition of the nation adopted at the start of the thesis, as an imagined community.<sup>8</sup> The nation was seen as a particular human community which shared particular 'images of communion' horizontally in comradeship among its members, and allowed their economic, class or other vertical social divisions to be overcome by this common style of imagining themselves to be a nation. Nations were to be distinguished from other styles of imagining human community because they saw themselves to be imagined political communities that were inherently limited to members and sovereign in their own affairs. Nationalism was defined as including those varied pre-modern and modern ideologies and movements which sought to advance the interests of nations understood in these terms, as imagined political communities.

To understand the role and history of these different organising images, or models, of nationhood,

the secondary concepts of dominant, residual and emerging ideas were also employed at the outset.<sup>9</sup> These different types of socially embodied ideas were seen as useful concepts for understanding the inner dynamic of paradigms and models as they would be studied in the thesis. We have been concerned to study the role of dominant, residual and emerging images or models of Christian nationhood, in relation to the history and developing tradition of contextual theologies of Christian national identity in Scotland.

More fundamentally, however, we have been studying the one, all-encompassing paradigm of Christian identity, as it has operated historically and developed theologically in Scotland, as the theoretical and practical framework for Christian approaches to Scottish nationhood. Despite their profound theological differences, and despite the different organising images or models of the Christian nation which they developed, the main argument of this thesis has been that the medieval Catholic approach (chapter 2), the post-reformation Reformed approach (chapter 3) and the modern secular Christian ethical approach (chapter 4), all operated within this overall paradigm and contextual theological tradition of identity. They have all sought to develop and maintain a Christian identity for a Christian nation, albeit using different organising images of Christian identity for the nation in different

periods of its history: the dominant political image of the free nation in the Catholic model; the dominant confessional image of the godly nation in the Reformed model; and the dominant ethical image of the moral nation in the secular model.

The thesis has sought to show that this paradigmatic tradition of Christian identity has had a far-reaching, socially significant influence on the history and development of the Scottish nation and its sense of nationhood and national identity. In many ways, that has been a creative and constructive interaction with the intellectual, social, economic, cultural and political life of the nation.<sup>10</sup> In some other equally significant ways, it has been a divisive and destructive influence on aspects of Scottish human and national experience. The thesis has sought to give a selective but balanced account of both kinds of Christian contextual interaction with the national identity of Scotland. It has also recognised some of the ways in which the socio-political context of Scottish society and nationhood has in turn determined aspects of the paradigm's own theological theory and practice of Christian nationhood; whether, for example, in the impact of the Wars of Independence and nationalism on the Catholic model; the crucial role of changing French-English and British geo-politics in the rise and fate of the Reformed model, or the influence of the rise and

decline of imperial Britain on the secular Christian ethical model of Scottish nationhood.

### The Concluding Argument: Time for a Paradigm Shift

Now we must turn to the briefer concluding argument in this thesis, that such a paradigm is no longer adequate theologically or relevant practically as the framework for a contemporary Christian approach to the issues of Scottish nationhood and nationalism in the late twentieth century. We are faced with the question of whether there is a need for a paradigm shift in the theological understanding of the meaning and practice of nationhood in Scotland. Such a shift would be required because the sociological and theological questions of identity addressed by the old paradigm are no longer the questions central to a Christian response to Scottish nationhood in the late twentieth century and into the twentyfirst century. Such contemporary questions lie outwith the parameters of the old paradigm and require new models of understanding and Christian practice.

We must now consider the possibility of the emergence of just such a new paradigm for a Christian approach to Scottish nationhood into the twentyfirst century. In essence, we shall be arguing for a new paradigm of liberation rather than of identity, and so seeking to make a case for a new Scottish contextual theology of liberation, with its own liberating models,

or liberating organising images, of nationhood. The fundamental reason for such a shift, in Schreiter's contextual theological terms, is the contemporary need for a different Christian reading of the dynamics of social change affecting Scottish nationhood from that possible within the framework of a paradigm of Christian identity for Scotland.

The main finding arising out of our analysis of the dynamics of the Scottish context will be that Scottish nationhood faces distinctive new problems linked to profound socio-cultural change and socio-political and constitutional conflict, and not primarily the problems of identity and continuity. We shall argue that a contextual theological paradigm of Christian identity is ill-equipped to address these problems of change and conflict in present-day Scotland.

Acknowledgement must be made, in passing, of the (still socially significant if diminishing) power of its continuing legacy, and residual organising images, operating in the contemporary Scottish sense of imagined community or nationhood. Many Scots still imagine Scottish nationhood in terms of ideas, images and institutions drawn from the now residual Christian models of the identity paradigm. The ideal of freedom espoused by pre-modern Scottish nationalism, the ideal of national godliness espoused by the early modern Reformed model,

and the conceit that the Scots still embody a portable moral vision of universal significance, as believed in the secular Christian ethical model, all remain operative in the Scottish sense of national identity today.

However, they are increasingly residual ideas that have lost their power to shape Scotland's future, if not to colour the Scots' perception of their past.

Scotland requires, not the Christian organising images of national identity, defending the social and theological identity of a past Christian nation, but the Christian organising images of liberation, sustaining the future of what we have termed, at the close of chapter 4, an 'open nation'. Such an open nation, in the lasting theological insight of the Baillie Commission, will be open to the liberating word of God and to the liberation of the neighbour.<sup>11</sup>

This will require of the Church of Scotland, as the national Church and the particular ecclesial locus for our thesis, a profound paradigmatic shift in its self-understanding and mission as that national Church. It may lead to a radically new, contextually rooted and yet evangelically faithful and prophetically critical Christian contribution to the continuing life and history of Scottish nationhood. It will also require a paradigm shift away from the social assumption that Scotland is a Christian society and from the constitutional reliance on



the 1921 church-state settlement as the keystone of any contemporary Scottish Reformed political theology. It is to such arguments and possibilities that we now turn, as we consider the contemporary context of Scottish nationhood as the setting for our theological reflection on liberation.

#### The Context - Changing Nation, Changing Nationalism

One way in which the the dynamics of social change in Scotland can be interpreted is in terms of the dynamics of 'post-modernity'. At the end of chapter 4, the sociological analysis of David McCrone was cited to put forward an understanding of Scotland today as a 'post-modern' nation. The notion of 'modernity' is itself a paradigm that has dominated Western society, and subsequently global society, since it emerged in the Enlightenment project of the eighteenth century and the social changes brought about through the impact of the complex process of industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Modernity was the world of organisation, bureaucracy, mass-production capitalism, cultural homogeneity, mass-media with communication monopolies; and all-embracing institutions, in the workplace, in social, religious and cultural life, and politically, in the nation-state.<sup>12</sup> These modern self-contained organisations, institutions and social classes usually demanded a complete and often life-time loyalty and membership - to one (working) class, political party,

factory, trade union, denomination, country; above all to the nation-state, the 'normal' social order in the economy and politics of modernity from the early nineteenth century onwards:

Modernisation represented the process by which "traditional societies" achieved modernity. Hence, in economic terms, improved technology, the growth of commerce and an increasing division of labour in industry was matched by urbanisation, the extension of literacy and the decline of traditional authority.... These economic processes of modernisation were matched by political changes, notably the extension of the franchise and the binding of the population to the allegiance of the state. Processes of industrialisation and democratisation went together as part of a larger movement towards the "nationalisation" of society. Virtually all individuals living within the borders of the state were identified with a national political order, usually via "citizenship". In its classical form, the nation-state claimed the notion of sovereignty, that it had supreme authority over the territory, which it did not share with another power. The population was bound to the nation-state by means of the ideology of nationalism through which people developed an emotive identity with this sovereign community.... In this scheme of things, then, "modern society" was industrial, a vast productive enterprise, whose political expression was the nation-state which provided citizenship rights for the population and demanded its national allegiance in return.<sup>13</sup>

This world of modernity and its self-contained nation-states has been progressively undermined and losing its authority in the late twentieth century, argue the theorists of post-modernity, because of two reinforcing socio-economic and cultural developments at the

local and global level:

The decline of the nation-state is not due to socialism (the myth of the abolition of the state), but because nation-states are losing their authority: from above, a global, multinational political and economic interdependence moves the centre of decision-making elsewhere; from below, the multiplication of autonomous centres of decision-making gives 'civil societies' a power they never had during the development of modern states.<sup>14</sup>

The social consequence of these global economic and local cultural developments was the rise of 'post-modern' society, which 'pointed to the limited nature of state sovereignty in an inter-dependent world, and highlighted the often contradictory and competing identities on offer. The plethora of new social movements with their limited and shifting aims contrasted with the predictability of class-based movements associated with "modernity".<sup>15</sup> And so post-modernity is a new interpretative paradigm for late-twentieth century societies marked by the fluidity and impermanence of social identities, the plurality and instability of meaning and value, and the rapidity and uncertainty of social change.<sup>16</sup>

In such a social context, post-modern theorists see contemporary nationalist and autonomist movements as sources of identity 'to meet new emergent needs' among those disengaged from loyalty to the old nation-states but seeking the anchor of local and ethnic roots, or attracted to 'the post-materialist values of autonomy,

authenticity and accountability'.<sup>17</sup> And yet such new post-modern nationalist movements cannot be contained in the old political structures and parties of modernity: 'The key to understanding nationalism resides precisely in its unstable and impermanent features, the lack of correspondence between movement and party organisation, the failure of the political party to capture the idea of the nation.'<sup>18</sup> In Scotland, for example, support for independence and home rule has been consistently higher than the level of electoral support achieved by the nationalist party, the Scottish National Party.<sup>19</sup>

According to McCrone, Scotland represents a classic case of this new post-modern nationalism. It has been a stateless nation since 1707, and yet it has retained its national identity and a significant measure of sovereignty through the autonomy of its highly developed civil society and autonomous national institutional life.<sup>20</sup> Scottish nationalism is distinctive, 'because the "identity garments" of nationalism (language, religion, ethnic culture and so on) do not fit the Scots with any ease.'<sup>21</sup> McCrone argues that the traditional link between political nationalism and culture in the modern era is unusually weak in Scotland. Support for nationalism in Scotland seems to reflect more post-modern pleas 'for new forms of self-determination, of limited autonomy, and self-managing communities, based on the rights of people to govern themselves. Such plans are

based on limited sovereignty in an interdependent world.'<sup>22</sup>

These post-modern nationalist concerns are reflected in the current Scottish National Party flagship policy of 'Independence in Europe', which marks a fundamental departure from the old nationalism of modernity, with its belief in inviolable national sovereignty, and a recognition of the post-modern world of limited, shared sovereignty and interdependence.<sup>23</sup> A con-federal European Community offers the Scottish National Party a post-modern political structure, allowing Scotland to enjoy both global decision-making and local autonomy, in a way that the 'modern' constitution of the unitary British nation-state, with its un-negotiable absolute national sovereignty and centralization of power, does not.

Such post-modern nationalist concerns are also reflected in the home rule movement of the 1980s and early 1990s, associated with the 1988 Claim of Right document and the founding of the Scottish Constitutional Convention.<sup>24</sup> Their appeal for Scottish self-government is based largely on arguments about the democratic right of the people of Scotland, as a territorial community rather than an ethnic people, to political self-determination. The political commentator Andrew Marr has described this cross-party and non-party movement for

political autonomy and self-determination as a type of 'civil politics' outside the constraints of traditional party political loyalties.<sup>25</sup> Civil politics is a debate about the right to self-determination, popular sovereignty and democratic accountability going on within Scottish civil society, across the boundaries of 'normal' party politics. It represents a fragile and heterogeneous vehicle for collective action among a disparate movement of groups and individuals with diverse identities and ends. But, as such, it points to the post-modern 'search for alternative principles of political structuring in the twenty-first century' and therefore places its '"post-nationalism" firmly in the future not the past.'<sup>26</sup>

McCrone argues, in a way that is highly significant for the argument of our thesis, that questions of threatened or debated national identity, and the need to recover a lost nationhood and national sovereignty, are not fundamental to this post-modern experience of Scottish nationhood, despite the efforts of nationalists and Unionists to argue the opposite. Scotland's sovereignty has been subject to a continuing process of negotiation, even after the Union:

Hence, one cannot say that before 1707 Scotland was in control of its own destiny, and that subsequent to the Union it was not. Instead, a series of complicated compromises were worked out to give Scotland (or more accurately, its elites) a high degree of social, economic and political autonomy. The debate about Scotland (as McCrone

seeks to show in his book) has largely been determined by the nationalist assumption that Scotland has been or is being 'lost' and has to be 'regained'. A more helpful argument would be that throughout its history Scotland's survival and identity have been the product of compromise and negotiation. In this respect, its "identity" is not under threat of extinction.<sup>27</sup>(my emphasis)

Therefore, the question of defining and defending Scotland's national identity is not central to contemporary issues of Scottish nationhood and nationalism. In a post-modern nation like Scotland, with a sense of national identity rooted in its autonomous civil society, the central question about nationhood is one of liberation from the imprisoning 'modern' structures of the British nation-state and a patriarchal male culture, and the liberating search for new political, social and cultural structures allowing for popular sovereignty, democratic accountability and personal empowerment, not least for women.<sup>28</sup>

Faced with this analysis of the post-modern dynamics of social change in Scotland, which have profoundly altered the context and meaning of nationhood and nationalism for many Scots, we would argue that the historical Scottish contextual theological paradigm of Christian national identity is gravely inadequate to understand or engage with the contemporary national context. This paradigm and its Catholic model were firmly rooted in the pre-modern world of Christendom, where they successfully made an accomodation with pre-

modern Scottish nationhood and nationalism in fostering a religiously underpinned national identity, before collapsing under the sixteenth century forces of reform. The Reformed model straddled that pre-modern era and the period of early modernity with some considerable success in creating a Calvinist godly nation and presbyterian national identity. However, the urban, industrial problems of modernity in Scotland and Britain, and the concurrent expansion in the powers of the 'modern' imperial British nation-state, helped to bring about the collapse of the older Reformed model of the godly nation as it strove to make its own accomodation to modernity in Thomas Chalmers' godly commonwealth ideal. The thesis then argued that the paradigmatic tradition produced one last major model of Christian nationhood, in the dominant Christian ethical organising images of the secular model of Scottish national identity. In as much as that final, secular Christian ethical model was inseparably linked with the 'modern' world of Protestant imperial and industrial Britain, it could not survive the latter's demise in the mid-twentieth century or operate outwith that historical and social context.

All three of these models were the products of a paradigm and contextual theological tradition committed to defining and maintaining the Christian identity of the Scottish nation. They reflected the need of both pre-modern and modern Scottish nationhood to be sustained by



universally embraced or at least implicitly acknowledged Christian or Christian-derived images of identity; because the social worlds of both pre-modern and modern Scotland were worlds of 'universal' meaning, whether within the revealed terms of Christendom, the common sense terms of the Scottish Enlightenment, or modernity's lode star of universal reason.

To use Peter Berger's apposite phrase, the Catholic and Reformed models operated under the 'sacred canopy' of pre-modern Christendom, where the Christian religion provided an over-arching framework of universal meaning for the whole of life in society.<sup>29</sup> A literal version of this sacred canopy may be found in the early-sixteenth century heraldic ceiling of St Machar's Cathedral in Aberdeen, referred to in chapter 2. Significantly, the Reformed Kirk continued to worship under that sacred canopy of Christendom, both literally in St Machar's kirk and symbolically in the imagined community of a reformed Christian nation, despite throwing out its perceived idolatrous images of crucifix, Virgin and saints. The Christian ethical model also operated under an over-arching canopy of meaning, the secular canopy of 'modernity' (as defined above). The enormous industrial and civic cathedrals built in shipyards, steel works, chemical works, mass-production factories, Victorian city halls and public buildings - worlds of strict, time-keeping rationality, mass-organisation and bureaucracy -

are literal examples of the secular canopy of modernity under which lived both church and nation in (Lowland, urban) Scotland. Under this secular canopy the churches sought to make some accomodation and keep religion from relegation to the private world of subjectivity, domesticity and leisure. The secular model of the Christian nation developed the image of the universally accepted Christian ethic as the 'image of communion' for the imagined community of modern, industrial Scotland under the secular canopy.

The middle-axiom thinking and 'secular society' analysis of the war-time Baillie Commission, considered at the end of chapter 4, represent the Christian intellectual achievements and key historical exemplar of this last phase in the paradigmatic tradition of Christian national identity. With the 1992 closure of the Ravenscraig steel mill in Lanarkshire, with its cathedral-like production sheds, the secular canopy was in collapse around the last large-scale heavy industrial production site in Scotland.

The post-modern nation of Scotland increasingly lives under neither canopy and occupies neither social or mental world. It is leaving the modernity paradigm behind, although it still struggles to free itself in some measure from the constrictions of one of the last European bulwark of the declining modern nation-state,

the British constitution and its doctrine of absolute national sovereignty. Post-modern Scottish nationhood does not require one universal system of meaning, as in the revealed world of Christendom or the rationalist world of modernity, but in true post-modern fashion seeks the autonomy and impermanent, changing structures to create and live with a plurality of meanings and values.

Post-modern Scottish nationhood may be said to live under the new multi-surfaced, semantically and morally fragmented 'shopping mall canopy' of post-modernity. It is the world described at its darkest in its moral aspect by Alasdair MacIntyre in his book, After Virtue<sup>30</sup>, in which he tells the parable of an imagined world in which the coherent world of modern science is destroyed by Know-Nothing vandals and only incoherent fragments of the scientific enterprise are left to be used in subjective and incoherent ways.<sup>31</sup> He likens this imagined world to the present fragmented Western world of morality, rooted in emotivism and unable to construct on a revealed or rational foundation any agreed criteria to resolve moral disagreements:

What is the point of constructing this imaginary world inhabited by fictional pseudo-scientists...? The hypothesis which I wish to advance is that in the actual world which we inhabit the language of morality is in the same state of grave disorder as the language of natural science in the imaginary world which I described. What we possess, if this view is true, are the fragments of a conceptual scheme, parts that now lack those contexts from which their significance derived. We possess indeed simulacra of morality, we continue to use

many of the key expressions. But we have - very largely, if not entirely - lost our comprehension, both theoretical and practical, of morality.<sup>32</sup>

A paradigm born out of and shaped by those dying worlds of Christendom and modernity cannot grasp the implications of this fragmented new post-modern world for the church, the nation and the mission of the gospel in Scotland. Christian models of pre-modern and modern national identity are ill-suited to resolve the problems of liberation in the 'pluriverse' of identities found in the post-modern nation of Scotland.<sup>33</sup> (Indeed, they survive in the national imagination, and Christian imagination in Scotland, as, in MacIntyre's terms, the fragments of a conceptual scheme, parts that now lack those contexts from which they derived their significance.)

Such a post-modern nation is no longer a closed-system of meaning and identity, as in the pre-modern independent Scottish or modern imperial British type of nation-state. As an imagined community, it is an open and fluid social system of meaning and membership, concerned with liberating autonomy and self-determination not the enclosure of universal and permanent identities. Post-modern nationhood, within the wider post-modern paradigm, experiences a range of identities, regional, national and international, social, sexual, political, cultural, religious or spiritual, which coalesce,

dissolve and re-emerge in new forms, held together and variously combined according to personal choice and integrity, rather than the few all-embracing loyalties and identities of the modern nation-state. And so now the Scottish nationalist and autonomist movements contain many individuals who see no conflict in considering themselves to be Scottish, British, European, socialist, feminist, nationalist, internationalist and entrepreneurial.<sup>34</sup> The unifying factor of this post-modern nationalism is the perceived liberating quest for autonomous, self-determining relationships, rights and structures, and not the quest for a universal or all-encompassing ethnic, religious, ethical or political identity. If there is to be an adequate Christian contextual theological response to this situation, then it will require a profound paradigm shift towards new Christian models and organising images of liberation and away from the old Christians models and paradigm of identity. Such a shift in the models of interpretation, frames of knowledge, beliefs and values of the Christian community will not be an easy one for the churches.

#### The Paradigm Shift - Emerging Images of Liberation

In his study of paradigm shifts in missiology, Transforming Mission, David Bosch described the characteristic features of the period between the final abandoning of an old paradigm and the full development and acceptance of a new one. He too was working with

notions of modern and post-modern paradigms (of mission), and the present time of transition between the two:

All other (earlier historical paradigms of mission which Bosch has considered), even the "modern" one, belong to the past; we could therefore, in a sense, look back upon them. The situation with the postmodern paradigm (of mission) is fundamentally different. New paradigms do not establish themselves overnight. They take decades, sometimes even centuries, to develop distinctive contours. The new paradigm is therefore still emerging and it is, as yet, not clear which shape it will eventually adopt. For the most part we are, at the moment, thinking and working in terms of two paradigms. A time of paradigm shift is a time of deep uncertainty - and such uncertainty appears to be one of the few constants of the contemporary era and one of the factors that engender strong reactions in favour of hanging on to the Enlightenment paradigm, in spite of signs from all quarters that it is breaking up.<sup>35</sup>

All of what Bosch said there about missiological paradigms applies to contextual theological paradigms of nationhood in Scotland. The pre-modern and modern identity paradigm of the Christian nation is now in the past but the new post-modern Christian liberation paradigm is still emerging and it is not yet clear what shape it will finally adopt, not least because its context, the post-modern nation of Scotland, is still unfolding and unclear as to its fully formed and distinctive constitutional and political shape. For Christians concerned about the future of the church and nation in Scotland, it is a time of deep uncertainty. For the most part, they are thinking and working in terms of two paradigms, one not yet dead and one not yet fully born, and two Scotlands, one in decline and one as yet

unfulfilled in its post-modern promise of autonomy, personal and national self-determination and democratic accountability.

It is therefore not surprising in a Scottish Christian context that so many in the churches hang on to the old identity paradigm of Scotland as a Christian nation, 'in spite of signs from all quarters that it is breaking up.'<sup>36</sup> The Church of Scotland in particular faces the temptation to cling to its identity as a national Church, as defined in its third Article Declaratory, and to assume that this means that it represents both Scottish Christianity and the people of Scotland in a Christian nation.<sup>37</sup> Apart from the theological questions raised by the notion of a national Church today, to which we shall return below, for the Kirk to imagine the community of church and nation in this way, as one Christian nation embraced by one national Church, is to ignore the sociological reality of Scotland as a multi-denominational, multi-faith, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, where practising Christians, and certainly practising Church of Scotland members, are in a minority.<sup>38</sup> Two twentieth century examples may be cited where the Church of Scotland has been tempted to hold on to the old paradigm of Scottish identity, with disastrous or debilitating consequences for its integrity, mission and public role. Both are examples of the identity paradigm's failure of 'prophetic

imagination', one culpably so and the other more inadvertently so.

First, during the nineteen twenties and thirties, the Church of Scotland 'Committee on Church and Nation' adopted a racist stance against the immigrant Catholic Irish community in Scotland. It did so on the grounds of the alleged Irish threat to Scottish nationality. In 1924, in the context of the perceived threat to Protestant Unionist Britain from the 'troubles' in Ireland, the 1918 Education act giving Catholic children state-funded Catholic schools in Scotland, and the growing Scottish Catholic electoral support for the Labour party, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave its Committee on Church and Nation a remit to examine 'the menace to Scottish nationality and civilization by Irish immigration.' A sub-committee was set up to make inquiry 'with a view to the preservation and protection of Scottish nationality and civilization'<sup>39</sup>; The Irish immigrant community was seen as an unassimilated nation within the nation, drawing on local welfare funds, with an alleged larger percentage of criminals, and with contrasting social and moral conduct compared with 'native Scots'. Similar comments continued in committee reports on the 'the Irish Menace to Scottish Nationality' and 'Racial Problem' during 1925-7, under the convenership of John White, calling on the government to restrict and repatriate the 'unsatisfactory type' of



'redundant' Irish immigrant.<sup>40</sup> The thinking that underpinned such racist positions can be seen in a statement in the 1927 Church and Nation report to the General Assembly on the need to regulate Irish immigration:

The Church of Scotland, whose interests in the past have been so intimately associated with those of the Scottish people, has clearly an obligation to defend Scottish nationality such as no other institution or organisation has. The Church has reacted on the nation, and the nation has impressed its own genius on the Church in a most notable way. If ever there was a call to the Church of Scotland to stand fast for what men rightly call dearest - their nationality and their traditions - that call is surely sounding now, when our race and our culture are faced with a peril which, though silent and unostentatious, is the gravest with which the Scottish people have ever been confronted.<sup>41</sup>

Such sensationalist ethnic religious nationalism, espoused by the Church of Scotland as late as 1938, shows the dangers when the identity paradigm of Christian nationhood confronted the reality of religious pluralism and the conflicting pressures of political change and economic slump in Scotland. It also exposes the Protestant and British Unionist bias of the secular Christian ethical model of Scotland when confronted with factors that belied its 'universal' claims.<sup>42</sup>

But above all, for our purposes, it is a key example of the Church of Scotland holding on to the old paradigm of the Christian nation, defined and defended in exclusive racial and religious nationalist images and

terms, in a period when it was failing to persuade Scotland to re-embrace either the Reformed or secular Christian visions of its 'imagined community' as a nation. As Stewart Brown has observed, in the context of the events surrounding the re-union of the Church of Scotland with the United Free Church in 1929:

The Church Union of 1929 did not define a new national ideal or transform Scotland into a "covenanted nation". An impressive ecclesiastical achievement, the Union none the less failed to define a Christian vision for the nation, a transcendent ideal which might unite social classes and private interests in a common pursuit of the Kingdom of God. (Brown was seeking to discover) some of the reasons for the Union's failure to inspire the Scottish nation.... what larger vision of a Christian Scotland lay behind the Union campaign, and why that vision failed to inspire the large proportion of the unchurched of Scotland, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>43</sup>

Brown notes that the leading figure in the Church and Nation Committee, the Church of Scotland General Assembly and the inter-church union negotiations in this period, was John White; who 'attempted to revive the "godly commonwealth" ideal of Thomas Chalmers', through his church extension campaign in the 1930s.<sup>44</sup> However, the racial and narrowly ecclesiastical concerns of the Church of Scotland in the inter-war years disfigured this attempt by church leaders like White, a staunch Tory Unionist, to revive the Reformed model of the Christian nation:

They had become concerned primarily with reestablishing the authority of the national Church, and with suppressing or eliminating those, like the Scoto-Irish Catholics, who would not

accept that authority. Ambition for ecclesiastical authority had overshadowed the Church's duty to work for social justice for all people, including those outside the Presbyterian communion. The reunited Church of Scotland in the 1930s was not the national Church led by Chalmers during the 1830s, which had made bold efforts to restore a sense of Christian commonwealth.<sup>45</sup>

In this shameful period in the history of the Church of Scotland, the identity paradigm of Christian nationhood demonstrated its vulnerability to a racial nationalist interpretation, in White's attempted revival of the Reformed model of the godly nation, centred on the national presbyterian Kirk. In part, the twentieth century record of the Church of Scotland was exonerated by the work of the Baillie Commission, and, in particular, John Baillie's work in leading the Kirk into a more progressive and inclusive Christian social vision during and after the second world war. But the 'White racism' of the inter-war years remains one of the most shameful (and poignant, if one read Jew for Irish in 1933) exemplars of the failure of the paradigmatic tradition of Christian nationhood to embrace social justice from the liberating perspective of God's Kingdom.

It is symptomatic of the fundamental problem facing a contextual theological paradigm of identity in the pluralist social context of late modernity, and even more of post-modernity, in Scotland. The identity paradigm does not operate with a theological

understanding of nationhood that gives sufficient weight to the liberating and prophetic aspects of the gospel in relation to areas of social conflict and injustice in the life of the nation (or wider world). It is guided by a central concern to maintain the order, power-structures and official identity of the Christian nation. While these liberating and prophetic elements have been present over the seven centuries of a Scottish contextual theological tradition of Christian nationhood, often as emerging ideas and images within a minority tradition, they have not been the dominant ideas and images of nationhood in the Catholic, Reformed and secular Christian ethical models (even the latter was concerned with social control as a key aim in its social reform programme and did not question fundamentally the social, economic, or political order of imperial Protestant Britain).

Other shameful exemplars of the moral and prophetic failure of the Christian nation paradigm, apart from those raised in chapters 2-4, could be cited, including the following historical instances where the church failed to defend the Christian people of Scotland as they suffered injustice, with honourable exceptions: the silence or complicity of the Church of Scotland and the churches in the the Highland and Lowland Clearances during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the failure of the church to oppose the serfdom of Scottish

miners as late as the late-eighteenth century; or to oppose the harsh government treatment of the political radicals and democrats of the late-eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, including the 1820 Scottish Insurrection and Chartist movements (many of whom were devout Christians); or to support the rights of the working class and women.<sup>46</sup>

This prophetic failure of Christian social theology and practice on the part of the Church of Scotland would have to be qualified sharply by its all the more remarkable recovery of a critical social vision in the period from 1939-45 onwards and down to the present. Evidence for this sea-change can be found in the markedly different tone and content of the Church and Nation reports during and after the second world war, where the mentality that created the Irish racial obsession disappears entirely in a more liberal and internationalist concern for questions of racial, economic, social and political justice (a profound change of which John Baillie's General Assembly leadership and his war-time Commission were the harbingers).<sup>47</sup> And yet even here, in a more progressive and liberal post-war era, the identity paradigm proved highly problematical as the Church of Scotland addressed the major issue of Scottish nationhood after 1945 - the question of Home Rule or Scottish self-government.

No one issue exposed more clearly the weakness of the Christian paradigm of Scottish identity, with which the Church of Scotland was still operating, than the post-war debate about devolution for Scotland. Since 1946, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had recognised the importance of this issue, and had been calling for a measure of Scottish self-government. Since the 1960s, and into the present, the Church of Scotland has consistently called for an elected Parliament or Assembly for Scotland under the crown and within the framework of the United Kingdom.<sup>48</sup>

When a Royal Commission on the Constitution of the United Kingdom was set up in 1969 under Lord Crowther, later Lord Kilbrandon, the Church of Scotland was one of the bodies which submitted evidence to it in September of that year.<sup>49</sup> The Kirk was in a strong position to do so, given its unbroken record in advocating the case for the devolution of legislative powers over Scottish national affairs to a Scottish Assembly, conceived as a 'parliament with powers'. Significantly, for this thesis, the grounds on which the Church of Scotland Church and Nation Committee representative chose to build the Kirk's case were those derived from its representative identity as a national institution.

When the Church of Scotland representatives made their opening remarks to the members of the

Constitutional Commission, they were careful to make clear 'the base from which we speak'.<sup>50</sup> On the basis of the 'Memorandum Submitted by the Church and Nation Committee of the Church of Scotland'<sup>51</sup>, containing a summary of the General Assembly's reports and general points on devolution from 1946-68, the office-bearers of the Church and Nation Committee said that they could only articulate the views of that Assembly. The views presented to the Commission on the Constitution were, therefore, the views of the General Assembly. A further point was stressed about the base from which the leading Church representative spoke on behalf of the General Assembly. It is so faithful to the identity paradigm of Scottish nationhood that it should be quoted in full:

The third point I would make is the widely representative character of the General Assembly. The Church of Scotland has a membership of just under one and a quarter million adults [in 1969], out of a total Scottish population of around five million, which is a sizeable (sic) proportion of the people of Scotland. The General Assembly is widely representative of the Church. It is not a clerical or hierarchical assembly: fifty per cent of the members are laymen or laywomen, and the Assembly also contains a quarter of the ministers, each of them with an elder from the different parishes of Scotland drawn in rotation, so that it represents the Kirk, from the Borders to the Shetlands and from the Western Isles to Aberdeen and Edinburgh in the east. The point I am making is not that the Assembly is entirely representative of the people of Scotland, nor that it is an assembly of experts in political economy or social theory; nor am I claiming that, because it is the Kirk which is speaking, it claims an infallibility in its judgement. What we do claim is that the General Assembly is widely representative of public opinion in Scotland [my emphasis], more so than any other body in Scotland at the present time, and it is for that reason that many people are of the opinion that the

Assembly of the Kirk is the nearest approach we have had so far to a parliament in Scotland.<sup>52</sup>

Here we have a Church statement clearly rooted in the Christian identity paradigm of Scottish nationhood. The Kirk was claiming a relevant voice in Scottish affairs because of its identity as a representative national institution, however carefully qualified that representative role might be. As the established church in Scotland, the Church of Scotland was concerned with the welfare of the Scottish people, the whole nation. Devolution was seen as a matter affecting the welfare of the Scottish people and therefore worthy of comment by the Kirk. But the base from which the Kirk chose to speak on this issue was the representative national identity of the General Assembly, as a body 'widely representative of public opinion in Scotland.' (Once again, we see in this latest example of the Reformed approach to Scottish nationhood the transposing of national issues into the ecclesiastical key. In the absence of a Scottish parliament, the General Assembly of the national church is seen as the voice of the nation.)

There were at least two other bases from which the Kirk might have addressed its views to the Commission, a constitutional one rejected by the Kirk at the outset and a theological one raised by the Commission itself.



In its memorandum to the Commission, the Church and Nation Committee concluded that, 'The Church claims no competence in devising political constitutions.'<sup>53</sup> While showing a healthy rejection of the old Calvinist theocratic pretensions of the Kirk to dictate to the state, this statement ignored the Church of Scotland's own highly developed constitutional theory and its possible relevance to the constitutional question of devolution. A national Church that had fought for four centuries to establish its competence to devise its own constitution surely had something worthwhile to say when the nation of which it was an integral part sought to devise its own political constitution.<sup>54</sup> The Church of Scotland was founded on the basis of constitutional principles of limited, distributed sovereignty and the church's spiritual freedom, which were recognised as part of the common inheritance of Western constitutional thought, and which were as applicable in the secular sphere of civil government as they were in church-state relations. And yet the Kirk decided not to speak from its strong base in constitutional theory and practice, to the regret of at least one member of the Commission.

This member tried in vain to press the church witnesses to consider more detailed constitutional questions concerning the powers of their proposed Scottish Assembly within the United Kingdom; but the Kirk spokesman would only reiterate the representative base

from which the Kirk's General Assembly offered its evidence:

What the (General) Assembly has tried to do is to give expression to the dissatisfaction which is widespread throughout the country and to give expression to the two poles along which we think a solution should be found, namely, that it should be self-government within the framework of the United Kingdom. While we recognise there is a tension between these two poles, it seems to us that it is much more the province of a high-powered Commission such as this to give some indication of where the particular points of tension lie, rather than for the Committee on Church and Nation, which is not an expert committee, to try and formulate what you are really asking for - a model.<sup>55</sup>

It is precisely in this area that the Kirk had a constitutional model of the distribution of powers among different levels of government and spheres of sovereignty in the one society. As Harold Laski pointed out, in his Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty, and the political theory operating in the 1843 Disruption, the presbyterian constitutional model has been a federalist one:

The Presbyterians of 1843 were fighting the notion of a unitary state. To them it seemed obvious that the society to which they belonged was no mere cog-wheel in the machinery of the State, destined only to work in harmony with its motions. They felt the strength of a personality which, as they urged, was complete and self-sufficient, just as the medieval state asserted its right to independence when it was strong enough not merely to resent, but even to repudiate, the tutelage of the ecclesiastical power. They were fighting a State which had taken over bodily the principles and ideals of the medieval theocracy. They urged the essential federalism of society, the impossibility of confining sovereignty to any one of its constituent parts....<sup>56</sup>

It was precisely this federalist understanding of

society and sovereignty that was embodied in the fourth Article Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, which declared that the Church of Scotland received from Christ, 'its Divine King and Head, and from Him alone, the right and power subject to no civil authority' to run its own affairs.<sup>57</sup> Remarkably, given the doctrine of absolute parliamentary sovereignty at the heart of the British unitary state (as indicated by Laski, above), the Kirk's constitution, including this fourth Declaratory Article, was recognised by the British state, in the Church of Scotland act, 1921.<sup>58</sup> In the sixth Article Declaratory, the Kirk declared that church and state were sovereign within their own spiritual and civil spheres, and each had the right to determine the nature of their mutual relations: 'The Church and the state owe mutual duties to each other, and acting within their respective spheres may signally promote each other's welfare. The Church and the State have the right to determine each for itself all questions concerning the extent and continuance of their mutual relations....'<sup>59</sup> This was what the Church of Scotland and British state were doing in drafting and recognising the Articles Declaratory. In Scottish and Reformed constitutional terms, two sovereign bodies were establishing their mutual relations through free negotiation rather than by the unilateral decision of an absolutely sovereign parliament, as in the English constitutional tradition (as interpreted by Dicey).<sup>60</sup>

Here is a Reformed presbyterian constitutional model applicable not only to the mutual relations of church and state but equally to the relations of different spheres of civil government within a federally constituted state. In such a model, it would be the right of the Scottish Parliament, founded on the sovereignty of the Scottish people (under God), to determine all questions concerning the extent and the continuance of its mutual relations with the British Parliament within the framework of the United Kingdom (or outwith it, should that Scottish Parliament and people so decide). This Church of Scotland constitutional model and political theory would have allowed the Kirk's representatives to answer the more detailed questions being put forward by the Kilbrandon commissioners.

As it was, the Commission member pushing the Church and Nation spokesman for an answer, replied, 'I am sure that as witnesses, representing a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, you are solely concerned with the welfare of the Scottish people. But where difficulties arise I am sure you should have a hand in sorting them out. This is not simply a matter that can be put aside as an expert one.'<sup>61</sup> Clearly the Commission on the Constitution recognised that it was legitimate for the Kirk to speak from a constitutional base. The Kirk did not. It chose to speak from within the paradigmatic tradition of the Christian identity of

Scotland, in as much as the national church was seen as a representative voice of Scottish public opinion.

As we shall argue below, adopting a constitutional base would have involved the Kirk in engaging in political conflict with the British constitution and state, and stepping outside the paradigmatic framework of Christian nationhood and Scottish identity. For the Church of Scotland that Christian nationhood and Scottish national identity, and its own continuing national role, had become embodied since 1707 within the Protestant constitutional settlement of the British state of the United Kingdom. The 1707 treaty of union between Scotland and England guaranteed the Church of Scotland its presbyterian polity and status as the legally recognised national church. It was therefore bound both paradigmatically and institutionally to uphold the nation's identity within the framework of the United Kingdom. To have adopted the radical constitutional arguments of its own Reformed tradition of political theology, as the base from which it addressed its remarks on the secular government of Scotland to the Kilbrandon Commission, would have brought into question one of the two stated 'poles' in its thinking, self-government 'within the framework of the United Kingdom'. Operating within the paradigmatic tradition of Christian national identity, that United Kingdom framework (founded on the English constitutional doctrine of the absolute

sovereignty of the British Parliament) was inviolate to a Church which, since 1707, had seen the British constitution as the guarantor of its own status as a national institution and Scotland's survival as a Protestant nation, albeit a stateless one. So powerful was the hold of the identity paradigm on the thinking of the Kirk's representatives that they were not aware of, or simply did not see the relevance of the Church of Scotland's own highly developed Reformed (and medieval Catholic) constitutional tradition and politico-theological theory of the state.

It would have required a paradigm shift to a contextual theology and paradigm of liberation, in Schreiter's definition, to allow the Kirk to employ its own historic and radical constitutional theory as the base from which to address the key question for Scottish nationhood in the later twentieth century, ie., self-government within the framework of its own federalist view of society, church-state relations, constitutional thought and civil government, rather than 'within the framework of the United Kingdom' and its unitary state, based on the doctrine of absolute sovereignty. Such a paradigm shift would involve the Kirk interpreting the constitutional question in the liberating terms of its own political theory of the state, ie., it would require Scotland's constitutional liberation as a nation, and not just as a national Church, from the claim to absolute

sovereignty of the British state. The 1989 Church and Nation report implied that very point: 'If the established national Church of Scotland has won the recognition from the British state that state sovereignty does not extend to the Church's own affairs, may that concession to a notion of society, where sovereignty and autonomy are distributed among several bodies, not be extended to the United Kingdom itself, and to (Scottish) national affairs within its multi-national state?'<sup>62</sup> Such a political hermeneutic of its own tradition would bring it into political conflict with the British state in the name of constitutional justice; or at least make the Kirk define its support for self-government within the framework of a liberating Reformed theological paradigm that gave primacy to issues of constitutional conflict in Scottish nationhood.<sup>63</sup>

This would represent a radical shift from any approach to self-government possible within the historic identity paradigm, which gives primacy to issues of Scottish national identity wedded, since 1707, unquestioningly within the political framework of the United Kingdom. The latter paradigm, having accommodated itself politically to Scottish nationhood and the national Kirk surviving within the British state, could not envisage a political, theological or constitutional viewpoint that would bring it into conflict with the constitutional core of that United Kingdom framework.

And so the recent exemplars of that paradigmatic tradition, the Church of Scotland representatives before the Commission on the Constitution in 1969, ruled out a liberating Reformed constitutional model for Scottish self-government and stuck steadfastly to their representative role and national identity within the framework of the United Kingdom. Within the perspective of the identity paradigm, they could perhaps do no other. Twenty years later, however, in 1989, the Church of Scotland shifted its ground of support for home rule.

The General Assembly's re-affirmation of its own Reformed theological tradition of constitutional thought, in its 1989 Church and Nation report on 'The Government of Scotland', allows for the recovery of classic Reformed constitutional concepts that could function in modernized form as key emerging ideas for a new paradigmatic approach to questions of Scottish nationhood.<sup>64</sup> As it stated, '... it is not possible to resolve the question of the democratic control of Scottish affairs and the setting up of a Scottish Assembly apart from a fundamental shift in our constitutional thinking away from the notion of the unlimited sovereignty of the British Parliament towards the historic Scottish and Reformed constitutional principle of limited or relative sovereignty.'<sup>65</sup> We shall return to such emerging constitutional ideas below, as we consider the emergence of new liberating models within a liberation paradigm of



Scottish nationhood.

The refusal of the Kirk to speak from a second, theological base puzzled the Kilbrandon Commission even more than the church representatives' refusal to offer a constitutional model. Another Commission member asked whether, if the Kirk's recommendations on devolution were accepted, the Church of Scotland would expect its situation 'to be better as regards witnessing to the Gospel?'<sup>66</sup> The church representative replied, 'I do not think this is an element which has entered into our calculations at all. We have put forward these suggestions not in the interests of the Kirk but in the interests of the Scottish people.'<sup>67</sup> Again, this statement may express a healthy rejection by the Kirk of any attempt to use political means to proselytize on its own behalf and to its own denominational advantage (given the sectarian fears, particularly in the west of Scotland that home rule would either mean 'Rome rule' or a presbyterian hegemony). But it may also be interpreted as revealing a lack of connection in the Kirk's thinking on Scottish nationhood between its witness to the gospel and its prophetic role in national and public affairs, not least over the fundamental issue of Scotland's governance and constitutional status. The Commission member's response to the church representative's refusal to see a connection between evangelical witness and political context is a highly significant one: 'I do not

think I have had an answer.'68

The Commission on the Constitution certainly did not receive an answer in line either with Reformed theology or Scottish presbyterian historical experience. As John de Gruchy has written, with regard to Reformed and Catholic liberation understandings of the biblical relationship between concern for evangelical truth and for prophetic action, both theological traditions see a profound connection between the gospel and its political context:

We only know the truth as we become engaged in what the living and liberating Word requires of us. We know who Jesus is when we follow him. Ultimately both Catholic liberation and Reformed theology find their focus in this spirituality of evangelical discipleship which ... is inseparable from the struggle for justice and liberation.... For Calvin as for Augustine before him and Gutierrez after him, what the Scots Confession calls the "rule of love" is the ultimate principle of biblical interpretation because it is the ultimate expression of our faith response to God's liberating grace. And, insofar as doing justice is the way in which love engages social need and oppression, love working itself out in the struggle for justice becomes the crucial key to discerning God's liberating Word for the world today.<sup>69</sup>

In as much as there is such a profound connection in (a liberating and authentically Calvinian) Reformed theology between seeking to make the political situation in any particular social context a more just one and seeking to discern God's liberating Word for the world

(where both prophetic action and evangelical truth are seen as inseparable and complimentary elements in faithful witness to the gospel), then it was seriously inadequate theologically and untypically dualistic (Lutheran rather than Calvinist) for the Kirk representatives not to make the connection between their proposed political-constitutional change and a better situation 'as regards witnessing the Gospel.' According to the Kirk representatives they considered only the interests of the Scottish people in deciding their views on the government of Scotland. The Commission question about a devolved Scotland offering a better situation for witnessing to the gospel was interpreted as implying a concern to advance the interests of the Kirk itself; when in fact a contextual theological question was being raised by the member of the secular body to the church representative, about whether there was a connection between the Kirk's fundamental work of witnessing to the gospel and the political context in a self-governing Scotland.

It is the argument of this thesis that the Kirk representative's position here, in being unable to envisage a connection between evangelical witness and political context as the basis for its position on Scottish self-government, faithfully articulates the Christian approach to questions of Scottish nationhood shaped by the assumptions and horizons of the identity paradigm. That paradigm, operating with a contextual

theology of identity, thinks in terms of maintaining and enhancing national identity through a Christian medium, in this instance through the concern of the national church for the welfare of the nation and the 'interests of the Scottish people'. It does not offer a framework for a Christian understanding of Scottish nationhood operating primarily in terms of the liberating and disruptive nature of the Word and gospel, or a reading of the social context of national life in terms of the dynamics of oppression and injustice. Such an alternative framework, a liberation paradigm of Scottish nationhood, would put the connection between evangelical witness and political context at the heart of its critical reflection on the national church's praxis. As John de Gruchy put it, above, 'insofar as doing justice is the way in which love engages social need and oppression, love working itself out in the struggle for justice becomes the crucial key for discerning God's liberating Word in the world today'; or, we may say, it becomes the crucial key for witnessing to the gospel in the context of the social and political situation of Scotland today (as the Commission member implied).

An unjust and oppressive social context may indeed damage the church's witness to the gospel in any particular nation or country, as is seen most obviously in the more extreme cases of Nazi Germany or apartheid South Africa.<sup>70</sup> A commitment to changing the political

situation, arising out of a witness to the gospel which includes the struggle for justice but does not confuse that human struggle with the Kingdom of God (except as a frail sign and longing anticipation), may indeed lead to a better situation 'as regards witnessing to the Gospel'. The two interact with one another and cannot be separated, according to this Reformed interpretation of the biblical witness to the gospel.

Operating within the constraints of the identity paradigm, the church representative could not think of the Kirk's approach to Scotland in these terms, despite the Church of Scotland's own Reformed theological tradition in these matters . And yet the Church and Nation Committee did recognise the importance of the impact of self-government on the social context of national life. In its written submission to the Commission, it listed six reasons for self-government identified by the General Assembly, including economic, geo-political, governmental, demographic, international, and spiritual (psychological and cultural) benefits.<sup>71</sup> One of the main methodological assumptions of our thesis on Christian nationhood has been the notion that the national context may affect the church's witness to the gospel as much as witness to the gospel may influence the nation (an assumption based on the insights of the sociology of knowledge and religion, and of contextual theology). The Kirk's comments to the Commission did not

allow for such an interaction. A dualism seems to have operated. The Kirk's representative role as a national institution allowed it to hold views on devolution as an expression of Scottish public opinion, and to decide on the benefits to Scotland of self-government (operating as it did within the identity paradigm of Christian nationhood). But this approach was to be carried out without any reference to its fundamental evangelical task of witness to the gospel. And its missionary role of witnessing to the gospel did not require the Kirk to consider the political situation as something that aided or hindered its mission.

When it is recalled that Scottish presbyterian church history in the past two hundred years alone offers several major case studies of the way in which the political situation in Scotland and the United Kingdom did great damage to the Church of Scotland's witness to the gospel, the neglect of the gospel in its social and political context by the Church of Scotland representatives in 1969 shows a disturbing lack of theological and historical awareness. The damage done to the Kirk and nation in nineteenth century Scotland, through a political situation in which the British state refused to accept Scottish religious and constitutional arguments in resolving the Disruption disputes, is a case in point.<sup>72</sup> As another important example, the failure of the Kirk and other presbyterian churches to respond

critically and prophetically to the socio-economic exploitation of the poor and working class in Victorian Scotland, and the parallel lack of support for democratic reforms to change a political situation unrepresentative of their interests, also damaged the integrity of the churches' witness to a gospel for the 'whole of life'.<sup>73</sup>

In terms of the argument of this thesis, the severing of the critical link between the gospel and its political context by the Kirk representatives in 1969, demonstrates the inability of the identity paradigm to address the issues of Scottish nationhood in the later twentieth century. This was proven literally to be the case ten years later, in the role of the Church of Scotland during the devolution referendum in 1979.

Having rejected both a constitutional and a theological base from which to speak on devolution in 1969, and having clearly adopted a representative basis for its position, the Church of Scotland went into the 1970s confident that it was representing the growing tide of Scottish opinion that seemed to favour devolution, in both election results (the two 1974 General Elections) and opinion polls. The Labour government finally passed its Scotland act, setting up its Scottish legislative Assembly, but with a clause requiring forty per cent of the total Scottish electorate to support it in a referendum before it could be established.<sup>74</sup> The Church

and Nation Committee decided that it should contribute to the referendum campaign in early 1979, given the General Assembly's consistent support for a devolved Scottish parliament since 1946 and the strength of Scottish opinion in support of that position.

The Committee drew up a statement on the referendum to be read in pulpits on the two Sundays before the referendum polling day, 1 March. This statement reminded church members of the General Assembly's support for a measure of self-government within the framework of the United Kingdom but did not tell them how they should vote in the referendum. It did, however, encourage members to use their vote and gave the warning that failure to vote would be treated effectively as a No vote against the Scotland act, given the act's provision that the support of forty percent of the total electorate, and not just of those voting, was required to set up the Scottish Assembly (a unique and arbitrary requirement in the history of British democracy, where one vote is normally considered a sufficient majority in elections, as it was in the earlier 1975 British referendum on entering the European Common Market).<sup>75</sup>

This final point on the No vote in the Church and nation statement was too much for one leading churchman, Dr Andrew Herron. At a meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly on 22 February, Herron successfully



proposed that the Commission recall the statement and forbid any minister to read it from the pulpit.<sup>76</sup> Herron argued that the statement favoured the Yes side in the referendum campaign and that its claim that a failure to vote would be treated as a NO vote was grossly misleading. In moving against the Church and Nation Committee's statement, he believed that the referendum campaign had no Christian implications. He was reported as saying, '... if I hear of any minister who reads this statement from the pulpit on Sunday and who knew of the Commission ruling then I will have him up for contempt of the Commission.'<sup>77</sup> In this way, the Church of Scotland's longstanding position on Scottish self-government was officially silenced in the final days of the referendum campaign.

We must ask, in relation to the argument and analysis of this thesis, how it was that a church which had consistently supported devolution for over thirty years could find itself in that position at a critical moment in Scottish affairs, when its voice should have been heard by the nation? One fundamental reason must be the base from which the Kirk had chosen to form and advocate its views on the government of Scotland, its representative national identity as an expression of Scottish public opinion, ie., it was operating within the terms and horizons of the identity paradigm and approach to nationhood.

By January 1979 it was clear to many that public support in Scotland for devolution was wavering (the Labour government which was presenting the Scottish Assembly as a Labour proposal, rather than a cross-party policy, had become deeply unpopular because of a winter campaign of trade union industrial strikes, 'the winter of discontent' in 1978-9); and that even among its more committed advocates there were doubts about the proposed Assembly.<sup>78</sup> An article in The Scotsman newspaper on 29 January by the journalist Arnold Kemp identified the mood of the time. He argued that Scotland had become bored with devolution as early as 1977, when the first Labour devolution bill had foundered in the House of Commons. The whole debate had gone on too long, after the heady excitement and support for Scottish self-government following the election of eleven Scottish National Party MPs in 1974. 'Thus', he wrote, 'as we go into the March 1 referendum, perhaps the most important moment in Scotland's history since the Union, apathy is everywhere and even the friends of devolution brood about the Scotland Act's inconsistencies.'<sup>79</sup>

Seen in this context, by an informed observer of Scottish public life, it is easier to understand the ease with which, only three weeks later, Herron persuaded the Commission of the General Assembly to stay silent on the referendum, overriding that same General Assembly's consistent support over more than thirty years for the

principle underlying the referendum proposal. The General Assembly had based its support on its claim to represent Scottish opinion and interests supporting devolution. If the national opinion which the Church of Scotland claimed to represent on the devolution issue was seen to falter in the turbulent period of the 1979 referendum campaign, where did that leave the Kirk? A church that chose to build its argument on its representative national identity, rather than on its own constitutional and theological base, proved completely vulnerable to fluctuations in national opinion. It had given itself no other ground on which to stand in the public debate. As the church historian Henry Sefton has commented on the Church of Scotland's relationship to Scottish nationhood in the post-1945 period, 'It is difficult to resist the conclusion of a recent commentator [Brand, 1978, p.127] that the church has followed rather than led opinion on this matter.'<sup>80</sup> For a church both in numerical decline and facing secularization but also, more importantly, choosing to speak from a representative base, this seems an inevitable fate and unerring conclusion.

Significantly, Sefton begins his assessment of the Church of Scotland's approach to Scottish nationhood by quoting a claim made in the 1968 Church and Nation Report to the General Assembly: 'The Church of Scotland has consistently upheld Scotland's historic nationhood and

identity.'<sup>81</sup> It has been the argument of this thesis that this has indeed been the approach which the Church of Scotland has adopted (as the Ecclesia Scoticana from before the reformation) in its relationship to Scottish nationhood over seven centuries and more. In the conceptual terms and analysis of this thesis, the church's approach in upholding Scotland's historic nationhood and identity has been determined by its contextual theologies of identity and the dominant models, images and tradition-bearing exemplars of the identity paradigm of Scotland, imagined as a Christian nation. The events from 1969-79 show the inadequacy of such a contextual theology and paradigm, based on representing and upholding the national identity, in developing and sustaining a coherent, critical Christian theological approach to the contemporary debate about Scottish nationhood.

Both the Church and Nation representative addressing the Commission on the Constitution in 1969, and Andrew Herron, addressing the Commission of the General Assembly in 1979, shared the assumptions of the identity paradigm, although they argued from them to different conclusions on the proper position for the Kirk to adopt on the devolution issue. They both declared in different ways that the democratic control of Scottish affairs had nothing to do with the theological beliefs and national mission of the Church of Scotland. It had

everything to do with the representative national identity of the established Church of Scotland. For Herron, this paradigmatic assumption led him to the view that the Kirk should not pronounce on constitutional matters during the course of the devolution referendum campaign, in order to maintain its integrity and carry out its spiritual ministry as a national church in a nation divided on this political issue of nationhood. The Kirk's national identity and national mission would be threatened by taking sides in a divisive national debate. Here we see the identity paradigm severing the connection between evangelical witness and prophetic action. But those advocating the Kirk's support for devolution also cut that vital link between Christian faith and prophetic praxis from within the same logic of the identity paradigm of Scottish nationhood.

For the Church and Nation Committee, this identity paradigm led successive General Assemblies to support devolution. It is very telling that the vice-convenor of the Church and Nation Committee at the time when it made its submission and comments to the Commission on the Constitution, Rev. William B. Johnston, subsequently made the following critique of the Kirk's evidence:

In 1969 representatives of the Church of Scotland gave evidence to the (then Crowther, later Kilbrandon) Commission on the Constitution. The grounds of justification for their appearance before this enquiry was "not that the Church has any expertise in the devising of constitutions" (Minutes p.51) but

that as it is the "national Church ministering to the Scottish people in every parish, the Church of Scotland is deeply concerned for the welfare of the Scottish nation" (Minutes p.40) and therefore it is also "widely representative of public opinion in Scotland, more so than any other body in Scotland at the present time" (p.52). Now here is a different premise from that of the Declaratory Articles which speaks of the Christian Faith of the Scottish people. The ground of credibility is not that of a Church expressing the corporate faith of a nation, but a geographical claim to be a body with its agents and institutions placed in every part of Scotland. But the conclusion which is drawn from that, namely that the Church of Scotland therefore represents public opinion more adequately than any other body, is arguable.<sup>82</sup>

Implicit in Johnston's self-criticism is the acknowledgement that the Church of Scotland should have spoken from the more credible ground of the Christian Faith of the Scottish people, representing those historic Scottish theological convictions relevant to this constitutional question, rather than from the Kirk's highly arguable claim to a national representative identity and role. Johnston finds that claim untenable because of the ecumenical diversity and strength of Scottish Christianity not represented by the Church of Scotland, not least the relatively large Scottish Roman Catholic community, and by the multi-cultural and multi-faith presence of other Scottish religious and ethnic minority communities.

It is important to acknowledge here that Johnston's criticism of the 1969 evidence was noted in the Church of

Scotland and influenced the shift to a theologically grounded argument for constitutional reform to be found in the 1989 Church and Nation Committee report on 'The Government of Scotland', accepted by the General Assembly.<sup>83</sup> And so, over three decades, symmetrically marked in the three significant years from 1969 to 1979 to 1989, we can trace the emerging idea of a new theologically grounded approach to the constitutional questions at the heart of the later twentieth century debate about Scottish nationhood. This new approach consciously challenges the once dominant and now residual ideas of the church's national representative role and identity. As the 1989 Church and Nation report argued:

While consistently calling for an effective form of self-government for Scotland within the framework of the United Kingdom since 1948, the Church of Scotland has tended to base its support for this policy upon its own representative role as a national institution responsive to Scottish opinion and responsible for the nation's moral and spiritual well-being. The weakness of such an approach, outlined in the Church of Scotland submission to the Royal Commission on the Constitution 1969-1973, became evident in the 1979 devolution referendum. Without an agreed theological and constitutional basis for its position, the Church of Scotland fell officially silent on its consistent support for Scottish self-government, paralysed both by internal disagreement on how that position might legitimately be expressed in the referendum campaign, and by its vulnerability, as a representative national institution, to fluctuations in Scottish opinion on the referendum proposals. While the Church's position on the government of Scotland has been a consistent and honourable one for forty years, the lesson is clear. The Church of Scotland can only make a distinctive and effective contribution to the

current debate about the government of Scotland if it grounds its position in its own historic theological and constitutional convictions as a national Kirk within the Reformed tradition. Nothing less will do.<sup>84</sup>

With this 1989 report, we are witnessing the emergence of a new Christian contextual theological approach and paradigm of Scottish nationhood, one not dependent on the Christian identity of the nation but grounded on the Christian theological challenge presented by a secular and pluralist nation (recognised by Johnston, and by writers on the national church question in Scotland like Hunter and Mackie).<sup>85</sup> However, the report also begs the question of whether the 'historic theological and constitutional convictions' of the Church of Scotland and its Reformed tradition actually are as clear-cut and unambiguous as it claims and argues. This thesis has sought to show some of the ways in which the Kirk's theological and constitutional tradition has operated within the identity paradigm and Reformed model (and secular Calvinist/presbyterian model) of the godly nation (and moral nation). That tradition has undoubtedly shaped and been shaped by the national identity of the nation and the national Kirk. Yet, it has more often served to uphold the existing social order, once the work and political order of the 1560 reformation and the 1690 presbyterian settlement were made secure, rather than challenge it prophetically with the liberating gospel. Again, we see emerging in the



1980s (following on from the earlier work of the Baillie Commission), a more radical and prophetic stance by the Church of Scotland in relation to the state and the prevailing socio-economic order. In the Just Sharing report, offering a Christian approach to the distribution of wealth, income and benefits, produced by a Church of Scotland working party set up at the request of the 1984 General Assembly under the auspices of its Church and Nation Committee, there is the recognition of a tension within the Kirk's theological tradition between the prophetic and the establishment roles that the Kirk has played on social and economic questions down through its history:

This emphasis (in the Gospels) on distribution (of wealth) as a spiritual matter is in continuity with a significant strain in the Christian tradition, which has been stressed strongly in Scotland. Our study seeks to stand within that heritage. In the early nineteenth century, Thomas Chalmers attempted to restore what he called 'godly commonwealth' in Scotland, in which the whole community was to meet the needs of its weak and needy members. And in the Scottish Reformation there was a particularly strong stress on God's call for justice for the poor and oppressed. This concern should be shared by all Christians because it springs directly from the Gospel and from the Christ who came to preach good news to the poor and to announce the acceptable year of the Lord. But the church has not always been faithful to this insight. Professor Smout's fine book, A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950 (Collins 1986), is a searing account of poverty, human degradation and social division in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Scotland as a result of appalling maldistribution. It also shows that the churches failed almost entirely to recognise these things as the great issues for the Christian conscience, said little

that could be regarded as prophetic, and failed to challenge injustice and oppression. We should be faithful to the earlier, and more prophetic tradition.<sup>86</sup>

In seeking to outline the emerging ideas and models for a new liberating paradigm of Scottish nationhood, from the perspective of the Reformed tradition but within a wider ecumenical vision of the church in Scotland, we must therefore recognise the tension within that Reformed and Church of Scotland tradition between compromise with the prevailing social and political order and a prophetic stance alongside the powerless. As with the work of the Just Sharing report, any new paradigm of liberation will emerge out of faithfulness to the earlier Reformed prophetic tradition in Scotland. It cannot emerge out of the 'establishment theology' that so often undergirded the identity paradigm of Scottish nationhood, where the defence of the institutions of the Christian nation, including the British state, was seen as more important than the gospel's prophetic critique of social and political injustice within that supposedly Christian nation and under that British state.<sup>87</sup> However, this tension between liberation and identity, the prophetic voice and the establishment order in church and state, goes much deeper than the Reformed tradition and the history of the Church of Scotland. It lies in the biblical roots of that tradition and church's self-understanding.

## Identity and Liberation - Biblical Roots

Walter Brueggemann has highlighted the biblical roots of this dichotomy between liberation and identity, in his distinction between 'royal consciousness' and 'prophetic consciousness' in the biblical literature of the Old and New Testaments. Significantly, in the conceptual terms of this thesis, where the concept of 'imagination' has been central to its definition of the nation as imagined community and its use of paradigmatic models as organising images, Brueggemann develops his hermeneutical distinction in a book called, The Prophetic Imagination, which uses a similar conceptual framework, employing models, paradigms, historical exemplars of the paradigmatic tradition, and the central notion of imagination.<sup>88</sup> Again, significantly, given the conceptual terms of this thesis, with its analytical use of 'dominant' and 'emerging' ideas/models, Brueggemann also distinguishes between the dominant royal consciousness and the emerging prophetic consciousness in Israel, in the Gospels and in the modern church.<sup>89</sup>

He sees in the Old Testament narratives centred on Moses and his Exodus community of Israel 'a paradigm of the prophetic imagination'.<sup>90</sup> Brueggemann begins with a hypothesis: 'The task of prophetic ministry is to nurture, nourish, and evoke a consciousness and perception alternative to the consciousness and perception of the dominant culture around us.'<sup>91</sup> That

alternative consciousness arose in the thirteenth century BCE with the liberating narrative of God's freedom in rescuing Israel out of imperial Egypt, through the critical and energizing ministry of the prophet Moses and the creation of a nation out of the liberated common life of ex-slaves.<sup>92</sup> It contrasted with the prevailing imperial consciousness in Egypt, characterized by Brueggemann:

The radical break of Moses and Israel from imperial reality is a two-dimensioned break from both the religion of static triumphalism and the politics of oppression and exploitation. Moses dismantled the religion of static triumphalism by exposing the gods and showing that in fact they had no power and were not gods. Thus, the mythic legitimacy of Pharaoh's social world is destroyed, for it is shown that such a regime appeals to sanctions that in fact do not exist. The mythic claims of the empire are ended by the disclosure of the alternative religion of the freedom of God. In place of the gods of Egypt, creatures of the imperial consciousness, Moses discloses Yahweh the sovereign one who acts in his lordly freedom, is extrapolated from no social reality, and is captive to no social perception but acts from his own person toward his own purposes. At the same time Moses dismantles the politics of oppression and exploitation by countering it with a politics of justice and compassion. The reality emerging out of the Exodus is not just a new religion or a new religious idea or a vision of freedom but the emergence of a new social community in history, a community that has historical body, that had to devise laws, patterns of governance and order, norms of right and wrong, and sanctions of accountability. The participants in the Exodus found themselves, undoubtedly surprisingly to them, involved in the intentional formation of a new social community to match the vision of God's freedom. That new social reality, which is utterly discontinuous with Egypt, lasted in its alternative way for 250 years. We will not understand the meaning of prophetic

imagination unless we see the connection between the religion of static triumphalism and the politics of oppression and exploitation.... It is the marvel of prophetic faith that both imperial religion and imperial politics could be broken.... Moses introduced not just the new free God and not just a message of social liberation. Rather, his work came precisely at the engagement of the religion of God's freedom with the politics of human justice.<sup>93</sup>

Brueggemann fully recognises that, sociologically and theologically such a radical community may be possible only in the social setting of marginal people, like the hapiru slaves, who have only the God of freedom to trust against the dominant regime and its gods. Once Israel settled into prosperity and security under king Solomon, after 962, a new 'royal consciousness' subverted the prophetic consciousness and community of Moses: '... there was a radical shift in the foundations of Israel's life and faith.... The entire program (sic) of Solomon now appears to have been a self-serving achievement with its sole purpose the self-securing of king and dynasty .... a program of state-sponsored syncretism, which of course means the abandonment of the radicalness of the Mosaic vision.'<sup>94</sup> Brueggemann characterises this royal consciousness, found not only in Israel but in the modern western church, as a dominant paradigm marked by an economics of affluence, a politics of oppression and a religion of immanence and accessibility, 'in which God is so present to us that his abrasiveness, his absence, his banishment are not noticed, and the problem is reduced to

psychology.'95 The paradigm of prophetic imagination, in contrast, knows a different God: 'He is a God uncredentialed in the empire, unknown in the courts, unwelcome in the temple. And his history begins in his attentiveness to the cries of the marginal ones.'96

While not understanding Jesus of Nazareth 'simply as a prophet', Brueggemann suggests that, nevertheless, 'In both his teaching and his very presence Jesus of Nazareth presented the ultimate criticism of the royal consciousness. He has, in fact, dismantled the dominant culture and nullified its claims. The way of his ultimate criticism is his decisive solidarity with marginal people and the accompanying vulnerability required by that solidarity.'97 Brueggemann shows how this is reflected in the life and ministry of Jesus, from his birth, his life among the outcasts, his compassion and, supremely in his death:

The cross is the ultimate metaphor of prophetic criticism because it means the end of the old consciousness that brings death on everyone. The crucifixion articulates God's odd freedom, his strange justice, and his peculiar power. It is this freedom (read religion of God's freedom), justice (read economics of sharing), and power (read politics of justice) which breaks the power of the old age and brings it to death. Without the cross, prophetic imagination will likely be as strident and as destructive as that which it criticizes. The cross is the assurance that effective prophetic criticism is done not by an outsider but always by one who must embrace the grief, enter into the death, and know the pain of the criticized one.98

But, just as Moses' prophetic imagination was a model for Brueggemann of 'liberating and liberated' energizing as well as criticism<sup>99</sup>, so in the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, there is a new energizing of the marginal people against the dominant royal consciousness:

The resurrection of Jesus is the ultimate energizing for the new future.... There is not any way to explain the resurrection out of the previously existing reality. The resurrection can only be received and affirmed and celebrated as the new action of God whose province it is to create new futures for people and to let them be amazed in the midst of despair.... the resurrection is faithful to and can only be understood in terms of the characteristically surprising energizing of the prophets.... it is the ultimate act of prophetic energizing in which a new history is initiated. It is a new history open to all but peculiarly received by the marginal victims of the old order.... The resurrection is a genuinely historical event in which the dead one rules. But that genuinely historical event has important political dimensions, as is recognised especially in Matthew. On the one hand, it is seen as a threat to the regime (Matt. 28:11-15), whereas, on the other hand, the risen Jesus announces his new royal authority. He is now the king who displaces the king. His resurrection is the end of the nonhistory taught in the royal school and a new history begins for those who stood outside of history. This new history gives persons new identities (Matt.28:19) and a new ethic (v.20), even as it begins on the seashore among the dead enslavers (Exodus 14:30).<sup>100</sup>

Brueggemann offers an account of the biblical traditions of royal and prophetic consciousness which is highly germane to the argument of this thesis, at five levels. First, it shows the biblical roots of the two Christian paradigms of nationhood, those of identity and



liberation, which have been central to the thesis. The paradigm of identity has ultimately been a paradigm of imperial and royal consciousness, while the proposed new and emerging paradigm of liberation is firmly rooted in the prophetic imagination and consciousness of Moses and Jesus of Nazareth.

Secondly, Brueggemann's types of consciousness and paradigm in scripture allow for a biblical critique of the three main and dominant models of Christian nationhood that we have delineated in the history of church and nation in Scotland. Each model ultimately exhibited the royal consciousness in being wedded to a national order corrupted by the maldistribution of economic wealth, a politics of oppression and a religion of static triumphalism, as set out in chapters 2-4. It is not without significance that James Kellas, in his study of Modern Scotland (1980), should still devote a chapter to 'The Presbyterian Establishment', in which he writes:

There is still a 'Presbyterian Establishment' in Scotland, despite the rising membership of the Catholic Church [1980], and religion plays a more important role in Scottish society than in English.... But relative to the nineteenth century the Church has lost power. In 1861, the shrewd English observer Henry Buckle considered that the Scots 'submitted their actions, as well as their consciences, to the authority of the Church' ... and there is evidence that much of Scottish life at that time was in effect subject to a narrow oligarchy of clergymen and elders. One way or another they controlled education, social welfare and



limited freedom of expression, and they just failed to make people vote the way they desired. But the Church shed its power voluntarily, in the face of impossible social demands on its resources of the new industrial Scotland, and today what it retains is influence. Its pronouncements can persuade but they cannot coerce.... Scotland is still distrustful of unorthodox opinion, but the orthodoxy today is social and not religious.<sup>101</sup>

The Church of Scotland may have lost the reality of social power, as Kellas and this thesis have argued, but it remains too often enmeshed in the paradigm of power and establishment. The Kirk still operates as an institution with an 'establishment theology' grounded in the once dominant but now residual Reformed model of church and nation, where it was a power in the land. This prevents it from embracing the liberating new model of a marginal church with a prophetic consciousness. As Kellas hints at, such a paradigm shift may well lead to a strengthening of its influence in post-modern Scotland, within the social and moral ecology of an open nation. The term 'disestablishment' requires to be re-coined to refer, not to church-state relations (which will be addressed below) but to the theology of a church on the margins. Brueggemann's biblical hermeneutic offers the possibility of a 'disestablished' contextual theology.

Thirdly, we have identified some emerging models of a new paradigm of liberation which clearly manifest the prophetic consciousness of Moses and Jesus, not least in the literary exemplar of John the Commonweal, the

historical exemplar of Patrick Brewster and the contemporary exemplar of the Just Sharing report, handed to the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1988 by the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, James Whyte, after she addressed that Assembly on a Christian defence of capitalism.<sup>102</sup>

Fourthly, Brueggemann's distinctions allow for the renewal and reforming of the Reformed tradition in Scotland, inasmuch as it recovers the prophetic imagination and Word which characterized its origins, and repents of the royal consciousness and establishment theology which too often disfigured its own model of church and nation. As Mark Kline Taylor has noted about the wider Reformed theological tradition of which the Church of Scotland is part:

The Reformed tradition's praiseworthy world-formative impulse has been guided by a theology that all too easily, perhaps unwittingly, accepts a world-repressive compromise with established orders. It does this, in spite of all its talk about doing good and practising vocation, in part because its adherents think it possible to experience God's grace before, or apart from encountering radical struggle in society and history. What is needed is an appropriation by us of those elements in our tradition which teach that God's presence and our receiving God's grace are immanent to social and historical struggle.<sup>103</sup>

Just such a critique of the Reformed tradition in Scotland has been made by Donald C. Smith. He notes that even the most progressive and democratic Reformed church in nineteenth century Scotland, the Relief Church, held

that the equality of persons in the Christian community was not to challenge the hierarchy of social rank and maldistribution of wealth in society:

This tragic dichotomy between the world of the "soul" and the present life of society was a prominent feature of contemporary Christian thought. The message of the Gospel was primarily for people's "souls", not for their bodies; for their eternal welfare, not for their circumstances and condition in this life. Without realizing it, the Church preached a kind of docetic Christ, rather than the Christ of flesh and blood; a "spiritualized", "otherworldly" Gospel, rather than the full Gospel of the Incarnation. This failure to take the real humanity of Christ seriously inevitably meant the failure to take the real humanity of men and women - their needs and problems, their misery and degradation - seriously. It was thus destructive of any truly Christian social ethic, for such an unbiblical understanding of the Christian faith meant that the Church never attempted to bring all aspects of human life and society under the radical judgement of God. Little wonder that such "spiritualizing" robbed the Gospel of its dynamic power, and thus its searching, disturbing criticism of the corporate life of society; that the Church's prophetic voice was never raised; that for the suffering masses of the industrial population such "otherworldly" Christianity seemed hopelessly irrelevant.<sup>104</sup>

As the Church of Scotland seeks to recover that prophetic voice in the late twentieth century, its own self-confessed biblical and theological origins in the prophetic Word, it will recover the neglected dynamic of continuing reformation as a church Reformed and Reforming, semper reformanda. And it will recover the link between evangelical confession and prophetic proclamation, on the one hand, and worship and common life, on the other, as the essential condition of its

life in history as an always reforming Church: 'The evangelical confession and prophetic proclamation of the church, in both word and deed, arises out of the worship and communal life of the church, and, in turn, they inform that worship and common life.'<sup>105</sup>

And, finally, Brueggemann's understanding of the prophetic ministry of Jesus is fundamental to the remaining section of this closing chapter, in that the cross and resurrection turn the 'non-history' of marginal people into a new liberating history, consciousness and community. Again, this provides the biblical bridge between a liberating Christian paradigm of Scotland and contemporaries theologies of liberation. Jesus, paradigm, theology and post-modern Scottish context, are all concerned with the non-history of 'non-persons'.

#### Paradigm for Non-Persons

The challenge facing the Church of Scotland today, in ecumenical fellowship with the other 'Churches of Scotland', is to develop a new paradigm of Christian praxis that operates out of the context of the post-modern and pluralist nation of Scotland, and which addresses that nation's distinctive concerns and conflicts, in the light of critical and contextual theological reflection on the gospel. Such contextual theological reflection may fruitfully be centred on the biblical theme of liberation in Christ, the prophetic

consciousness and imagination identified by Brueggemann, and draw on the methods of the theologies of liberation developed in Latin America and other Third World, and now First World, contexts.<sup>106</sup>

In answer to the criticism that such a theological paradigm of liberation is inappropriate because of radically different contexts between the extreme poverty and political tyranny found in the Third World and a relatively prosperous, democratic and developed northern European country like Scotland, it should be noted that Latin American liberation theology is fundamentally a new way of doing contextual theology rather than a theology of a particular national context only. It is the challenge and method of that new way of doing theology that must be taken up from Latin America, not the Latin American context and contextual theological product, inappropriately transposed to a radically different Scottish context.<sup>107</sup>

As a pioneer Latin American liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutierrez observed that the distinctive nature of Liberation theology is that it addresses the challenge of the non-person rather than the non-believer (the focus of so much modern Western theology); that is,

the person who is not recognised as human by the dominant social order: the poor, the exploited, the one who is systematically and legally despoiled of his human nature, the one who hardly feels human. The non-person first of all puts in

question not so much our religious world as our economic, social, political and cultural world; therefore all revolutionary transformation draws on the same basis of a de-humanized society. So the question is not so much how to speak of God in a world come of age, as how to proclaim the Father in an inhuman world, the implications of what it means to tell the non-person that he or she is a child of God.<sup>108</sup>

The nature of the de-humanizing experience of being systematically and legally treated as a non-person will vary among different social, political and national contexts but the challenge to address our theology to the non-persons in our own context is the universal one from the Latin American liberation theologians. In the Scottish context, the idea and problem of the non-person is not unknown, in working class human experience if not to the fore in academic Scottish theology.<sup>109</sup> Joe Corrie, a Fife miner, poet and playwright in the nineteen twenties, articulated the experience of the miner as the non-person in mock-theological style, in his poem The Image o' God:

Crawlin' aboot like a snail in the mud,  
Covered wi' clammy blae,  
ME, made in the image o' God -  
Jings! but it's laughable, tae.

Howkin' awa' neath a mountain o' stane,  
Gaspin' for want o' air,  
The sweat makin' streams doon my bare back-bane  
And my knees a' hauckit and sair.

Strainin' and cursin' the hale shift through,  
Half-starved, half-blin, half-mad:  
And the gaffer he says, 'Less dirt in the coal  
Or ye go up the pit, my lad!

Si gi'e my life to the Nimmo Squad  
For eicht and fower a day;

Me! made after the image o' God -  
Jings! but its laughable, tae.110

In Scottish society today many groups of people experience social and political structures which systematically despoil them of their human dignity and personhood, especially women and those living in poverty and long-term unemployment. To take only the example of women, the majority gender in the Scottish population, in post-modern Scotland the average full-time weekly wage for women is two-thirds of men's but almost half of Scottish women workers are part-time, usually earning much less. Women constituted 70% of low paid workers in 1992. Although 43% of Scottish women with children under five are in paid work, they have the lowest level of childcare provision for working parents in Europe. 38% of Scottish children are being brought up in poverty (compared to a British average of 26%). Three quarters of lone mothers in Scotland are living on state benefits. One in six families is now headed by a single parent. Of these, nine out of ten are women. Cases of domestic violence represent at least a quarter of all reported crime in Scotland. These sample statistics reflect the widespread experience of 'non-persons' in legal, governmental and economic terms, facing gender, racial and socio-economic discrimination and dehumanizing conditions.111 But the experience of being a non-person goes further even than the lacerating wounds of domestic

violence, or economic hardship. Women and the poor have also been written out of Scotland's history, or excluded from political power. As Lesley Orr Macdonald notes, in relation to Scottish church history:

Throughout the fifteen hundred years of Christianity in Scotland, millions of Scottish women have been born, grown up, got married or stayed single, worked, had children. They have struggled to sustain and nurture life; they have played and worshipped, hoped and dreamed. They have tried to make sense of, and give meaning to their lives. And the vast majority have done all this within a cultural framework which is Christian - whether Celtic, Roman Catholic or Protestant. But what do the standard texts on Scottish church history tell us about the lives of these foremothers? - almost nothing! Scottish church history has largely been the story of men who, like the disciples, were astonished that Jesus not only talked with women, but befriended, touched, taught, and invited them to participate in and share the Good News of liberation. And because men have not been able to accept that Jesus really meant what he said and did about human equality and potential, they have attempted, with remarkable consistency, and with a few honourable exceptions, to keep women out of the story of the Scottish church.<sup>112</sup>

A similar experience of exclusion of women from Scottish history can be found in twentieth century Scottish political life. The sociologist Isobel Lindsay commented in 1991, 'The most striking feature of the position of women in Scottish politics is the lack of significant progress in the past fifty years.... It may have been possible to explain away the overwhelming dominance of men in positions of political power in 1931 or 1945 or 1959 as the first stage in a slow evolutionary



process but by the end of the eighties, this sounded increasingly implausible.'<sup>113</sup> It is here, in the experience of being excluded from history and power, that a liberating Christian paradigm of Scotland would speak so profoundly to the human needs of post-modern Scotland. As Brueggemann wrote of the liberating prophetic paradigm of the risen Jesus, 'His resurrection is the end of the nonhistory taught in the royal school and a new history begins for those who stood out of history.'<sup>114</sup> Lesley Orr Macdonald herself challenges the church to embody such a liberating understanding of Christ for women:

But if the Church is to preach liberation, whilst failing to recognise the ways in which it exploits and limits its own members, then it will continue to present a distorted and decadent sign of the good news, and it will hardly be surprising if women, deriving their impulse and hope of equality from the Christian message, nevertheless choose to leave the church behind in their own quest for liberation. If we reclaim our own heritage, and are open both to the inspiration of the past and the promise of the future, and journey together - women, children and men - in humility, honesty and joy, we might yet celebrate a way of being the Church in Scotland which is more than a reflection of the dreary, deadening and sexist conventions of society. And our new community of equality, diversity and love might disturb, rejuvenate and evangelise the communal life of our nation.<sup>115</sup>

Here is an emerging liberating model of the church in Scotland with the promise of profound social significance and a prophetic, critical and energizing role in the life of the nation. But, significantly, this liberationist critique begins with the recognition of women as non-persons in the history of the Scottish church and nation,

as did Lindsay's critique of women's position in modern Scottish political history. This is precisely the starting point for contextual theologies of liberation, in the oppression of the non-person whom Christ liberates into history and humanity. It is an oppression that goes deep into Scottish life, history and social experience, not least in working class experience in the modern, industrial period that is now ending, eloquently articulated and recorded in the novels of writers like William McIlvanney. The radical Scottish educationalist R. F. Mackenzie noted the way in which McIlvanney expresses this experience of being a non-person:

Novelist William McIlvanney speaks from experience and the heart when he tells the story of a mining community in Ayrshire. He is angry about the apartheid to which working class folk, his own family and their neighbours and friends, are relegated. The hero of the novel Docherty (published in 1975), almost inarticulate with anger, explodes, "The bastards don't think we're folk! They think we're somethin' ... less than that."<sup>116</sup>

The other key area where people in late modern and early post-modern Scotland experience systematic dehumanizing as non-persons is in the area of political, civil and human rights. Citizenship in contemporary Scotland inhabits the political world of the non-person, in as much as the Scots have voted by a large majority in four General Elections, 1979, 1983, 1987 and 1992, for political parties advocating some measure of Scottish self-government and constitutional reform, only to be

denied that change by a party and government enjoying only minority support in Scotland.<sup>117</sup> Politically, in post-modern Scotland, the Scots are denied a justiciable Bill of Rights offering certain basic social and economic welfare rights, and the democratic right to elect their own Scottish legislature, except through the channel of a British nation-state claiming an absolute sovereignty over Scotland.<sup>118</sup> The citizen is also perceived by many as the non-person in Scotland, subject to rule without consent, the ignoring of declared policy preferences and the denial even of the self-evident meaning of their own electoral preferences. As the Epilogue to the recent constitutional document, A Claim of Right for Scotland (1988), stated it:

Scotland ... is now being governed without consent and subject to the declared intention of having imposed upon it a radical change of outlook and behaviour pattern which it shows no sign of wanting. All questions as to whether consent should be a part of government are brushed aside. The comments of Adam Smith are put to uses which would have astonished him, Scottish history is selectively distorted and the Scots are told that their votes are lying; that they secretly love what they constantly vote against.<sup>119</sup>

It must be noted that the document was drafted not by a nationalist fringe group but by a former senior Scottish Office civil servant, Jim Ross, and approved by a committee made up of leading figures in Scottish public life, chaired by Professor Sir Robert Grieve.<sup>120</sup>

In such a social and political context, it may be

argued that to propose a theology of liberation, arising out of a Catholic tradition in Latin America, rather than a policy of reform to tackle these problems, is to advocate an inappropriate theological approach for a Reformed tradition in a Western democracy, with its emphasis on respect for authority and its options for democratic change.<sup>121</sup> Two points must be made in reply.

First, it would be pertinent to note the comment made by the South African theologian John de Gruchy to just such a criticism: '... just as it is possible to be a Catholic liberation theologian, so it is possible to be a Reformed one as well, and to be one not only in countries of obvious oppression but also in situations where the oppression may be more subtle, even if very real for those who are dehumanized and oppressed.'<sup>122</sup> Scotland may be said to be just such a country of subtle but very real socio-economic and constitutional oppression for those who feel themselves dehumanized by its national experience (granted fully that such an experience is shared by people in different national contexts within the United Kingdom). Among the most insidious aspect of the experience of being non-persons is society's refusal to acknowledge that experience as real or valid.

The second point is suggested by Duncan Forrester when he warns of the dangers for public theology in our

present Western context. After the end of Christendom and those political theologies supporting the state and the status quo, 'there remains an urgent need for a post-Christendom political theology.... taking the political realm with profound seriousness but never making it absolute.... In a post-Christendom era, theology may evacuate the public sphere and retreat into the private sphere.'<sup>123</sup> That is a real danger in a post-modern world of personal choice, radical epistemological and moral relativism, and fragmented, privatized social experience. Amid confusion at the collapse of the identity paradigm of the Christian nation, and the growing pluralism of contemporary Scotland, the great danger would be a Christian retreat from the 'naked public square' into a private religion, seeking experiential, aesthetic or personal but not public significance.<sup>124</sup> The virtue of adopting a theological paradigm and contextual theology of liberation is that they would continually challenge and require the 'Churches of Scotland' to put both the public and personal plight of the 'non-person' at the centre of their mission in Scotland. Such a paradigm and theological approach would call for a liberating praxis offering alternatives to dehumanization and oppression in national as well as personal life. The prophetic imagination, in Brueggemann's terms, at work in this liberating paradigm and contextual theology would be grounded in the gospel of the kingdom of God and its values, and not uncritically accepting of those values

and beliefs operative in post-modern Scotland.<sup>125</sup> Bosch has made this point in relation to paradigm shifts in Christian thought (internal notes have been ommitted):

For the Christian ... any paradigm shift can only be carried out on the basis of the gospel and because of the gospel, never, however, against the gospel. Contrary to the natural sciences, theology relates not only to the present and the future, but also to the past, to tradition, to God's primary witness to humans. Theology must undoubtedly always be relevant and contextual, but this may never be pursued at the expense of God's revelation in and through the history of Israel and, supremely, the event of Jesus Christ. Christians take seriously the epistemological priority of their classical text, the Scriptures.<sup>126</sup>

In such a context, where nationhood must centre on the liberation of non-persons from their dehumanizing socio-economic and political experience of nationhood, certain new liberating models will be required which are both appropriate to that context and faithful to that gospel. They are already emerging out of the social and intellectual wreckage, and residual models, of the old identity paradigm. Yet, they must develop sufficiently and coherently to become the dominant models in a new liberating paradigm of nationhood for the twentyfirst century.

As David Bosch remarked of the development of any new paradigm and set of models, such a process happens only over a prolonged period: 'The transition from one paradigm to another is not abrupt. A new paradigm has

its trailblazers, who still operate in the old.'<sup>127</sup> As this thesis is a work of contemporary contextual theology, it can only work at the pace of that transition, and seek to indicate those trailblazing models out of which any future liberating paradigm may itself eventually emerge into coherent and definitive shape in Scotland.

What follows must, of necessity, therefore, be a tentative and suggestive outline rather than an exhaustive and definitive blueprint. We shall argue that the paradigm shift will require a Christian re-imagining of Scotland, a new prophetic consciousness within a post-modern context, in three main areas. The identity paradigm of Scotland as a Christian nation has been sustained by the organising images of a national church, a Christian society and a church-state settlement. Any new liberating paradigm of Scotland as an open nation will require a shift away from these static, institutional and exclusive models of church, society and polity towards alternative dynamic, relational and inclusive Christian models. Such new models must address the liberation of the non-person in the post-modern Scottish context, in ways that the old models of Christian nationhood are incapable of doing. They must offer a liberating Christian approach to the basic conflicts of post-modernity in Scotland - between fragmentation and coherence, the common good and

possessive individualism, the democratic rights of the citizen and the absolute sovereignty of the nation state, Scottish home rule and the British unitary state.

1. From the Representative Identity of a National Church to the Liberating Narrative of a Marginal Church

First, the Church of Scotland in the new paradigm must move from maintaining its representative identity as the national Church, to practising an ecumenical and prophetic consciousness formed by the narrative and community of the liberating Word. Post-modern, pluralist Scotland will not look to one national religious institution to undergird its national life with universal claims to membership or value maintenance. The Church of Scotland has been in decline qua national religious institution, as we argued above, in part precisely because the kind of social changes associated with post-modernity have led to the decline of all such mass-membership institutions making universal claims or loyalty demands, including the nation-state itself. Any attempt to address the life of such a nation on the grounds of being a representative national institution, are highly problematic, as we argued, with several case studies and supporting views, earlier in this chapter.

The claim in the Third Article Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, to be 'a national Church representative of the Christian Faith of the Scottish People', must now be re-imagined in the paradigm



shift from a Christian nation to a post-modern nation which is yet open to the Word of God and the love of the neighbour (as the Baillie Commission defined the church's essential calling).<sup>128</sup> As Johnston, Hunter and Mackie have argued, above, it is no longer sociologically plausible or ecumenically sensitive for the Kirk to continue in that claim or definition of a representative national and Christian identity. More fundamentally, in terms of the argument of this thesis, the holding on to this representative model of the national church will prevent the Church of Scotland from engaging contextually and faithfully in its ministry and mission to the nation. It was a model developed to engage with an 'imagined community' which is now in decline and disintegration, a Protestant Scotland in an imperial Britain. That model of a national church was intended to maintain the identity and boundaries of that nation, 'to bring the ordinances of religion to the people in every parish of Scotland through a territorial ministry', as Article Three states.<sup>129</sup> Such a statement is loaded with the assumptions of both the pre-modern Scotland of Christendom, with its parochial system developed in the twelfth century, and of modernity, where people were to be instructed and disciplined by universal institutions. It is singularly ill-equipped to relate to a society that knows a 'pluriverse' of meanings and will embrace beliefs and values selectively, through a discourse of autonomy and participation rather than authority and passive

learning.

In the fragmented and potentially incoherent world of post-modernity, the ecumenical 'Churches of Scotland' must exhibit to the nation of Scotland a coherent community of meaning and practice living openly in its midst, uniting Christians across all the divisions and fissiparous tendencies of late-modern and post-modern Scottish society without damaging their identities and diversity as believers.<sup>130</sup> As Hans Kung states it, post-modernity must not ultimately come to represent the loss of all agreed meaning and coherence in a democratic pluralist society:

Postmodernity ... cannot be content with a radical pluralism or relativism ... which are in fact characteristics of the disintegration of late modernity. Randomness, colourfulness, the mixing-up of all and everything, the anarchy and trends of thought and styles, the methodological 'anything goes', the moral 'all is permissible': this and similar phenomena cannot be the signature of the postmodern period.... However, postmodernity cannot aim at a uniform interpretation of the world in which we live. Nor can wholeness in the sense of totality and integrity and some premodern church integralism ... be hallmarks of the postmodern period either. Even within the new paradigm there will be a multiplicity of heterogeneous options for living, patterns of action, language games, forms of life, scientific conceptions, economic systems, social models and communities of faith, but these do not rule out a fundamental social consensus. Postmodernity as developed here means neither just romanticizing cosmetic operations in architecture or society nor a theory which is a panacea for social, economic, political, cultural or religious organisation. Postmodernity in the sense developed above strives for a new basic consensus of integrative humane convictions

in a new world constellation towards which democratic pluralist society is inexorably directed if it is to survive.<sup>131</sup>

To that end, the 'Churches in Scotland' can still play a socially significant role, as one among many public bodies, shaping that 'new basic consensus of integrative human convictions' which will be vital to the human and environmental flourishing of post-modern Scotland, with its many social, economic, political, cultural and ecological problems calling for public agreement and government action.

However, in order to fulfill that new public role in post-modern Scotland, the Church of Scotland must abandon the identity paradigm of church and nation which leads it to define itself in the late twentieth century as the national Church, representing and embracing the whole 'Christian nation'. It must show a greater and humbler willingness at the local, national and international levels to explore new ecumenical forms in its proper Reformed commitment to national ministry and mission. The formation of ACTS (Action of Churches Together in Scotland), involving the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, along with several other smaller Scottish denominations, is a sign of good faith and intention to move and work increasingly in that direction.

The Church of Scotland's witness to the post-modern

nation will depend increasingly not on its status or claims as the representative national church but on its integrity and credibility in inviting people into an ecumenical fellowship at the local level which offers a liberating model of open, accepting, reconciled and reconciling community to the wider and disparate post-modern society. Such a nation will not respond en masse to the universal claims or membership aspirations that fuelled the mission of the old national church model, as Stewart Brown makes clear in his study of John White's vision of church extension after 1929, or as can be seen in Peter Bisset's study of Church of Scotland mission and decline before and after 1956.<sup>132</sup> In the open table and social reality of that reconciled eucharistic communion, post-modern Scotland may find a new liberating image and model of its own wider communion as an imagined community, in which social unity can be sustained amid post-modern diversity.<sup>133</sup> There will be three distinctive features of such a liberating model of the church in a post-modern nation which will distinguish its new approach to Scottish nationhood from that of the residual identity paradigm of the Christian nation. It will be a marginal church sustained by the liberating narrative of the gospel, and so freed sociologically and theologically to be a prophetic church of the Word and of the poor.

First, it will be a church shaped by its existence

increasingly at the social margins of national life, rather than at its institutional centre in the power structures constituting Scottish nationhood, as in the historical Catholic, Reformed and even Christian ethical models. This move from being the 'national Church of Scotland' to being the 'marginal Churches in Scotland', would present an insuperable problem for any Christian approach to issues of Scottish nationhood undertaken within the terms of the identity paradigm of a Christian nation. The move from the centre to the margins would undermine the whole national ecclesiastical foundations of Scotland as a Christian nation, and its approach to ministry and mission. However, in the liberating paradigm of Scottish nationhood, a marginal church would be a church liberated to take up its true evangelical and prophetic calling in national life.<sup>134</sup> In this liberating model, the focus is on the liberating praxis of the gospel in the context of social conflict and oppression among those for whom national life means the fate of being a 'non-person', especially as women, poor people, ethnic, linguistic and cultural minorities, and as citizens. John de Gruchy has called such a Christian community, the 'Church of the Word, Church of the People', drawing on Reformed and liberation theology:

The church remains the church of Jesus Christ called to serve the Kingdom of God. From a Reformed perspective, the church must always be under the Word.... What Latin American liberation theology is speaking of when it talks about a "church of the people" is not simply a coming together of poor people, but

"a church that will be marked by the faithful response of the poor to the call of Jesus Christ." The true church of Jesus Christ is that community in which the poor and other social victims not only find a home but also shape its life and existence in the world. Thus we must rework the Reformation doctrine of the church by saying that the true church only exists where the Word is rightly proclaimed as the liberating Word and the sacraments are duly administered as signs of God's transforming grace in society as in each person who believes. It is precisely this commitment and character of the church under the liberating Word in Jesus Christ which opens up not only the possibility but also the necessity for the church to be for and of the people.<sup>135</sup>

And so, secondly, this marginal church must be a Christian community sustained not by its national identity and status, but by that liberating Word in Jesus Christ, shaping its life together as a sign of God's transforming grace in the nation as among its members. John de Gruchy has indicated the need for the Reformed church to recover this liberating narrative of the Word, first in Israel and then fulfilled in Jesus Christ, as it sustains and transforms the life of community.<sup>136</sup> And Stanley Hauerwas has written extensively on the importance of biblical narrative in shaping the character and social significance of Christian community in the midst of national life, not least in his book, A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Christian Social Ethic.<sup>137</sup> As he says there,

Christian social ethics should not begin with attempts to develop strategies designed to make the world more "just", but with the formation of a society shaped and informed by

the truthful character of the God we find revealed in the stories of Israel and Jesus. The remarkable richness of these stories of God requires that a church be a community of discourse and interpretation that endeavours to tell these stories and forms its life in accordance with them. The church, the whole body of believers, therefore cannot be limited to any one historical paradigm or contained by any one institutional form. Rather the very character of the stories of God requires a people who are willing to have their understanding of the story constantly challenged by what others have discovered in their attempt to live faithful to that tradition.<sup>138</sup>

The dynamic of the liberating narrative of the Christian story can thus serve to free the church from captivity to the historical paradigm of the Christian nation and the institution of the national church. It will not only challenge the 'royal consciousness' of its 'establishment theology' and reading of the scriptures, but also make it open to the challenge of what others have discovered through a liberationist theological method, in their attempt 'to live faithful to that tradition'.<sup>139</sup> This liberating narrative, sustaining, renewing and challenging the life of the marginal church as a 'story-formed community', will also make its own disturbing and prophetic impact on the life of the nation. Again, as Hauerwas puts it: 'Our task is not to make these nations the church [as in the identity paradigm of the Christian nation, and its several models], but rather to remind them that they are but nations. From the world's perspective, that may not seem like much, but the perspective of the people formed by the story of God's

redemption shows us how important a task it is. For the idolatry most convenient to us all remains the presumed primacy of the nation-state.<sup>140</sup> Or, we might add, the presumed primacy of the British nation-state or of a post-modern autonomous Scottish nation in its wider European community.<sup>141</sup> A marginal and prophetic church amid the nation gives primacy to the stories of the gospel of the Kingdom of God in Jesus Christ, in critical dialogue with the many narratives of the nation's own imagined community.<sup>142</sup>

This brings us on to the final distinguishing feature of a liberating model of the church, as a marginal church shaped by the liberating biblical narrative, and thus freed, thirdly, for a prophetic role in national life. Robin Gill has argued that a sociological Weberian 'church type' of religious body will be constrained by social pressures and accommodation from exercising a prophetic role in society.<sup>143</sup> And Walter Brueggemann has noted the different social conditions which make for the emergence of either prophetic or royal consciousness in the history of Israel.<sup>144</sup> He acknowledges the insights from the sociology of knowledge which make us aware of the ways in which the social context can commandeer or enable faith. He wonders if a prophetic consciousness is possible only among marginal people: 'Perhaps it must be concluded that the vision emerging from Moses is viable only in an



intentional community whose passion for faith is knowingly linked to survival in the face of a dominant, hostile culture. That is, such a radical vision is most appropriate to a sectarian mood which is marginal in the community.'<sup>145</sup> He wonders whether a marginal social position leads people to the deepest theological insights into the linked nature of God and of social justice: 'Perhaps the minority community of slaves and midwives was able to affirm the freedom of God.... Perhaps (it) is able to affirm the politics of justice and compassion' precisely because 'a truly free God is essential to marginal people if they are to have a legitimate standing ground against the oppressive orders of the day.'<sup>146</sup> But finally he concludes 'that for those who regulate and benefit from the order of the day a truly free God is not necessary, desirable, or perhaps even possible.'<sup>147</sup> Despite its radical social agenda, the Reformed Kirk in Scotland quickly and early felt the reality of such social constraints after 1560. As Michael Lynch has noted, in his study of the reformation in Edinburgh:

In studies of the Scottish Reformation too little attention has been paid to the nature of Scottish society itself.... The burghs were vital to the growth of protestantism but they imposed severe restrictions on its shape. In a society so conscious of rank, tradition and precedent the Reformation was only likely to make progress where it did not disturb the existing order of things. If there were two things most dear to an Edinburgh burghess they were his privileges and the money which those privileges allowed him to make. Both seemed to be threatened by the new religion. The early programme of the protestant reformers promised a new society;

it provoked a backlash. A full scale programme ... impinged too far on burgh privilege and had to be abandoned for a more cautious, conciliatory approach.<sup>148</sup>

A liberating model of a marginal church may allow the Church of Scotland to recover its founding social vision of a new society, outwith such constraints of the prevailing social order, but in a form appropriate to a post-modern context - through the witness to that new community in its own common life rather than the imposition of that vision by coercion or conformity.

If, as Brueggemann suggests, 'It seems probable that the radicalness of the Mosaic phenomenon cannot be separated from the social setting of the hapiiru', and that, therefore 'the freedom of God and the politics of justice are not so easily embraced among us, given our social setting', it is possible to see the decline of the Church of Scotland, from a national institution to a marginal people, as a liberating act of God's freedom in preparation for a prophetic role in the period of post-modernity.<sup>149</sup> However, such a critical and energizing interpretation is possible only within the liberation paradigm of an open nation, a nation open to the prophetic Word of a marginal church. The identity paradigm of a Christian nation sees only decline from a golden age and fosters only enervating nostalgia.

The majority of the present membership of the Church of Scotland is more likely to imagine Scotland and the Church of Scotland within the royal consciousness of an established national church. As the Just Sharing report observed, 'Only too often the church has sided with the rich and powerful. In Scotland ... it is now largely a middle class organisation.... deeply compromised by the economic and power structures of our society.'<sup>150</sup> In face of continuing institutional decline, the tendency will be to hold on to familiar but increasingly residual models and images of church and nation inherited from the paradigmatic tradition of Scotland's Christian national identity. The social experience of becoming a marginal church opens up the possibility, no more than that, of re-discovering the liberating narrative of God's freedom and justice in Jesus Christ, in ecumenical community amid the human experience of the truly marginal non-persons of Scottish (and global) society. It opens up the possibility of a paradigm shift for the Kirk from its representative role as the national church to its prophetic ministry as a marginal church still faithful to its confession of Christ's lordship over the nation and his ministry through the church to the whole nation. The marginal church in this liberating model would not be a sect-type of body but an open yet distinctive community of faith and practice, formed and continually reformed by a particular liberating narrative of universal

significance. The prospect of such a prophetic church lies in the rich precedents of the Christian story and its liberating narrative of God's freedom and justice, as well as in the Church of Scotland's creative response to its own changing social context and contemporary international theological reflection on the church.<sup>151</sup> The image of decline belongs to the triumphal, static religion of a national church's establishment theology, and induces only exaggerated pessimism, groundless optimism, apathy or contentment. A marginal church embraces costly change but also offers energizing biblical hope to Scotland.

## 2. From the Exclusive Identity of a Christian Society to the Liberating Ecology of a Neighbourly Society

Secondly, there requires to be a paradigm shift from the social model of a 'Christian society' to a new Christian social model appropriate to a post-modern context yet faithful to the liberating narrative of the gospel. The Church of Scotland must abandon the image of Scotland as an implicitly, latently or lapsed Christian society and stop regarding the people of Scotland as their parishioners in any proprietorial sense (not in the sense of social and evangelical concern). This carries with it the assumptions of Christian triumphalism and social control intrinsic to the identity paradigm of Christian nationhood. The notion of the inclusive social and religious communities of the local parish and the wider Christian society, the corpus Christianum,

functioned as effective Christian social models in the pre-modern period and even in the modern era, albeit in an attenuated form (as we saw in chapters 2-4).

Today, however, the people of Scotland in all their radical diversity and differences are not the churches' parishioners in Christendom. They are the churches' neighbours in the gospel, those through whom the grace of God is brought to believers, as in the parable of the Good Samaritan.<sup>152</sup> The churches must abandon the controlling image of the parishioner for the liberating biblical and evangelical image of the neighbour - the one who is free to be different, above all the one who is poor and marginal, and yet is still embraced in the bonds of grace, community and mutual responsibility, ie., neighbourly fellowship. As Gutierrez has said, there must be 'conversion to the neighbour' and we must find 'Christ in the neighbour':

We find the Lord in our encounters with men (sic), especially the poor, marginated and exploited ones.... This is why Congar speaks of "the sacrament of our neighbour".... Nevertheless, the neighbour is not an occasion, an instrument for becoming closer to God. We are dealing with a real love of man for his own sake.... the neighbour is not only man viewed individually. The term refers also to man considered in the fabric of his social relationships.... It likewise refers to the exploited social class, the dominated people, and the marginated race. The masses are also our neighbour.... our commitment to them, will indicate whether or not we are directing our existence in conformity with the will of the Father. That is what Christ reveals to us by identifying himself with the poor in the text of Matthew

[Matt 25:31-46]. A theology of the neighbour, which has yet to be worked out, would have to be constructed on this basis.<sup>153</sup>

Such a theology of the neighbour is now being worked out in a Scottish (and British) context. A Christian social model of the neighbour has already emerged in Scotland, in the thinking of what this thesis regards as a key textual exemplar of a new liberation paradigm, the Church of Scotland's Just Sharing Report.<sup>154</sup> This 'Forrester Report', convened by Professor Duncan B. Forrester of New College, plays a similar role in the late twentieth century to that which the Baillie Commission fulfilled in mid-century, convened by Professor John Baillie of New College. It offers the church a Christian social vision rooted in a sensitive reading of the social context and a faithful reading of the liberating biblical narratives on the neighbour.

Amid the diversity and quest for personal autonomy in post-modern Scottish society, the neighbour is the only credible and liberating Christian social model for community in an open nation. As the Forrester Report comments on the locus classicus of New Testament thinking on the neighbour, the parable of the Good Samaritan, 'The human dignity of Jew and Samaritan, transcending their differences, was affirmed in and by the establishment of a neighbourly relationship, in the recognition that they

were neighbours, who needed one another.'<sup>155</sup> Here in the Gospels, and in the report, the neighbour is seen as the stranger, the alien, the non-believer.<sup>156</sup> In Gutierrez's terms, the neighbour is the 'non-person' who, in neighbourly fellowship, is recognised as a fellow person and human being in all her difference and otherness. The social problem in a post-modern nation is that of social fragmentation into privatized 'lifestyles' and interests, where society lacks 'a shared language of the good'.<sup>157</sup> Clearly, the language of a shared Christian faith and ethic, which sustained the common life of parishioners in a 'Christian society', cannot serve in that way in the pluralist context of post-modern society. But the shared language of the good neighbour, which respects the reality of otherness while affirming relationship, may sustain 'a new basic consensus of integrative human convictions' in post-modern Scotland.<sup>158</sup> As Just Sharing Report states, we have a need for neighbours:

In his need my neighbour does me good. We are neighbours and we need to serve neighbours if we are to have a proper understanding of ourselves - and (far more important) if we are to serve and know Christ, whether we recognise him in the neighbour or not. The reciprocal ties of neighbourly fellowship create community and point beyond themselves to the fulfilment of fellowship in God.<sup>159</sup>

The Christian model of the neighbourly society opens up the possibility of community even in a post-modern context where the 'alien' and the 'stranger', in belief, ethics, or lifestyle, will more often be the neighbour,

rather than the familiar and similar Christian parishioner. This liberating Christian perspective will look for an open nation, open to neighbourly fellowship, rather than a Christian nation, exclusively defined.

This still leaves the question of the operation and character of that neighbourly society. Does it only mean an injunction to care for the neighbour in this expanded moral and social sense? If it did, then the neighbourly society might operate little differently from the 'Christian society'. In fact, the need for a neighbourly image of community carries with it the need for a new model of the way society operates. Neighbourliness in a 'Christian society' would still presume the dominance of the church or Christian ethic as a norm. The neighbour image requires, instead, a social model that is concerned with maintaining evangelical neighbourly values within the dynamic relationships of a pluralist society; rather than with maintaining Christian social and institutional interests and boundaries, as in the case of some moral and political campaigns for 'Christian values' that confuse ethnic and national interests with the gospel.<sup>160</sup> The Christian understanding of the neighbour found in the Just Sharing report, and in Gutierrez's Theology of Liberation, affirms rather than denies social pluralism.

The American sociologist Robert Bellah, and the British Jewish theologian Jonathan Sacks, offer such a



model in their separate uses of the notion of a 'social and moral ecology' in society. Bellah, in the book he co-authored, Habits of the Heart, defines the term 'moral ecology'/'social ecology' to mean, 'The web of moral understandings and commitments that tie people together in community.'<sup>161</sup> Just as the ecology of the natural environment can be easily damaged, so Bellah argues that the social ecology of a nation can also be damaged not only by war or political oppression but also by 'the destruction of the subtle ties that bind human beings to one another'.<sup>162</sup> The moral ecology of a nation like America has been sustained by several different civic and religious traditions, or 'habits of the heart', including the 'biblical and republican traditions' drawing on Judaeo-Christian and classical sources.<sup>163</sup> These traditions serve to monitor the health of a nation's social ecology: 'The litmus test that both the biblical and republican traditions give us for assaying the health of a society is how it deals with the problem of wealth and poverty.'<sup>164</sup> Bellah wishes to maintain what he sees as best in the individualism of the post-modern world, the dignity and autonomy of persons, without its collapse into 'extreme fragmentation'. This will require a 'new level of social integration, a newly vital social ecology', which in turn will require 'reappropriating" and "rethinking" the republican and biblical traditions, with their concern for the common good and public values, in order to repair the social and moral ecology of the

Here is a model of the social dynamics of a nation that can be fruitfully employed in a post-modern Scottish context. If Scottish society is seen, in Bellah's terms, as a dynamic social and moral ecology of relationships, sustained by a plurality of national traditions concerned for the common good (and other traditions indifferent to the welfare of the public sphere and its importance), then clearly the Christian tradition or 'habit of the heart' can play a significant part as one strand within this dynamic model. It can act as a litmus test on the health of the moral ecology of the nation, on issues of social conflict like poverty and powerlessness, as a tradition sustained by the liberating narrative and community of a church on the margins of national life and for marginalized people. A marginal church in that sense, with its prophetic biblical tradition, does not require a dominant or controlling role, as in the model of a Christian nation and society, in order to fulfill an authentically biblical and prophetic function, and a socially significant one, within Scottish society's social and moral ecology. Within a social ecological model of Scottish society, the notion of a marginal church does not mean a socially insignificant one. The argument of the thesis has been that a social position on the margins liberates the church sociologically and theologically to play potentially a very significant

prophetic role in a post-modern Scotland where many other public institutions and power-structures are becoming 'de-centred' and discredited.

Jonathan Sacks has adapted Bellah's societal model to a British context, in addressing the problem of public faith and the common good in a pluralist and multi-faith society. He sees 'religion as part of our moral and social ecology'.<sup>166</sup> Despite the forecasts of a secular society in which religion, the sea of faith, was ebbing away, Sacks argues that it has persisted and still has much to contribute to the wider life of a pluralist society. Religious communities, Christian, Jewish and others, by 'preserving their own distinct traditions', while bringing them into 'an enlarged sense of the common good', can be part of the 'community of communities' which Sacks sees as vital to the moral and social ecology of pluralist Britain in an inter-dependent world.<sup>167</sup> Within the community of communities which is Scottish society, the marginal 'Churches of Scotland' could sustain their own biblical and denominational traditions in a richer ecumenical strand, constituting one renewed and significant but not imperialist Christian tradition among the plurality of 'habits of the heart' in the moral and social ecology of the nation.

In this way, a paradigm shift to this model of Scottish nationhood as the social ecology of a

neighbourly society, would liberate both the church and the 'non-person' from trying to shore up or avoid being crushed by the exclusive identity of a Christian society. It would enable the 'Churches of Scotland' and their common biblical tradition to continue in their public role in national life without seeking to impose Christian beliefs and values universally on a diverse society. It would allow the non-person and the non-Christian, within the terms of a 'Christian society' or an unjust and oppressive society, to be affirmed, valued and defended, as the beloved, life-giving, grace-bearing neighbours of the biblical tradition. It would allow the Scottish nation to sustain a life-giving dialogue about the common good, enriched by the several traditions and strands constituting its community of communities (regional as well as religious, ethnic or voluntary). A new Christian paradigm of Scotland which operated with some such liberating model of Scottish society, understood as the social and moral ecology of a neighbourly society, would help sustain human dignity and human rights within post-modern Scottish nationhood.<sup>168</sup>

### 3. From the Establishment Identity of Church & State to the Liberating Horizon of Dual Citizenship

This leads us on the third and final area where a paradigm shift is emerging. For seven centuries the partnership of church and state in Scotland has been a fundamental part of the identity paradigm's imagined community of a Christian nation. Through four centuries

the Church of Scotland sought to reach an agreement with the state, first Scottish then, after 1603 and 1707, British, that would guarantee the Kirk's self-governing autonomy and national role in its model of Scottish nationhood.

It was not until 1921, and the passing of the Church of Scotland act by the British Parliament, that such an agreement was finally achieved. As we considered above, the British state there recognised the 'Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in Matters Spiritual', including its assertion in the Fourth Article that the Kirk has received from Christ alone, 'the right and power, subject to no civil authority to legislate, and to adjudicate finally', and to determine for itself, on all matters of spiritual government within its own sphere.<sup>169</sup> The Kirk was careful to stress in that same Fourth Article that recognition by the civil authority, the British state, of the church's autonomy and right to self-determination, did not mean that the state had conferred these powers on it or thereby acquired the right to intervene in church affairs.

We must ask about the status and relevance of such a church-state agreement in the context of the rise of post-modern nationalism in Scotland. As the democratic legitimacy of that British state is increasingly called

into question in Scotland, and as that post-modern nation no longer looks to the Kirk's status as a guarantor of its own sense of nationhood, then that constitutional agreement will seem increasingly anachronistic and indefensible to its secular critics (in 1992 a Liberal Democrat MP, Menzies Campbell, introduced a Scottish Home Rule bill which stated that there would be no establishment of religion in Scotland). We have argued that it is the identity paradigm of a Christian nation, undergirded by that church-state agreement, which has itself become anachronistic and indefensible. It is essential, therefore, that a liberating Christian paradigm develops a new constitutional model and political theology for a post-modern Scottish political context.

The classic Scottish Reformed constitutional tradition of the 'Twa Kingdoms' must be re-worked in terms of the present constitutional conflict between the Scottish nation and the British constitution, the citizen and the state.<sup>170</sup> The Reformed principles of autonomy and self-determination have been embedded in the Kirk's constitutional model of an established but independent national church, won after long struggle in the 1921 Articles Declaratory, and have underpinned its contextual theology of Christian nationhood. Such principles could also operate within a liberating model of constitutional citizenship for all the people of Scotland.

In post-modern Scottish politics, all of Scotland's citizens, and not just the national church, require to establish their sovereign rights and freedoms over against the nation-state. The nation itself is seeking to assert its own right to autonomy and self-determination in both British and European contexts.<sup>171</sup> Historically, the Kirk has used its constitutional theory to pursue and defend the establishment of its ideal in church-state relations, not least in its 1842 Claim of Right. Now it has an historic opportunity, in the emerging post-modern socio-political context, to turn its radical political theology of autonomy and self-determination to questions of political conflict over Scottish self-government, and to the need for a liberating citizenship in an empowering democracy. If it were to do so, in ecumenical dialogue with its fellow 'Churches of Scotland', then it might discover a political model of Scottish nationhood of profound relevance to the Scottish constitutional debate in the 1990s and beyond.

A first step in the direction of that paradigm shift can be found in the 1989 Church and Nation report on 'The Government of Scotland', which asked pertinently but cautiously, 'If the established national Church of Scotland has won the recognition from the British state that state sovereignty does not extend to the Church's own affairs, may that concession to the notion of a

society where sovereignty and autonomy are distributed' not be extended to the nation of Scotland itself?<sup>172</sup> Post-modern Scottish nationalism would be concerned to push that argument to more radical conclusions, and extend the principles of autonomy and sovereignty to the level of citizenship itself, and not just to the church or even the nation.

In this, both Kirk and post-modern nationalism would only be catching up with a figure who stands as a historical exemplar of this emerging Christian model of democratic citizenship, Patrick Brewster, the minister of Paisley Abbey from 1818-1859. Donald C. Smith has called Brewster the 'unique exception' to the social and political conformity of the nineteenth century Scottish churches.<sup>173</sup> In his controversial ministry within the established Kirk, Brewster supported the Chartist movement calling for working class democracy, and many other radical demands for social, economic and political justice. He believed that only with prophetic, biblical and evangelical preaching against the oppression of the poor by the powerful and rich, 'will man be restored, to his rights as a man' and 'Christianity be brought back to its native dignity and power'. This prophetic preaching centred on a humbled, incarnate Christ who suffered death 'that he might bring deliverance in time, and salvation in eternity, to the sinful, the suffering, and the oppressed children of men.'<sup>174</sup> Brewster was a pioneer



liberation theologian. As he once preached:

The Bible is full of politics; and to imagine that men can be innocent, in giving their support to the measures of the unrighteous and oppressive rulers, or in opposing and frustrating those of a just and paternal government, is a thing that will hardly be maintained; and he who cares not about the character of the men who administer the affairs of his country, or is willing to wink at their iniquities, or to thwart their patriotism, may be a fit tool for the support of a bad government, but cannot be either a good citizen, an honest man, or a sincere Christian.<sup>175</sup>

The theological challenge to the 'Churches of Scotland' today will be to recover and develop that political theology of citizenship rather than one restricted largely to church-state relations. Church-state relations constituted the key political ground for ensuring the polity of the Christian nation in the pre-modern and modern periods. Citizenship will be the key political arena for the church in the post-modern period, as it seeks to make that citizenship responsive to God's liberating Word and the needs of the neighbour. This will mean setting contemporary, post-modern political concerns about self-determining citizenship in the nation, in the wider Christian context of eschatological citizenship, a paradigm shift already emerging in Brewster's political theology. Moltmann has termed this wider Christian perspective 'the horizon of eschatological hope', or 'the horizon of the expectation of the Kingdom of God'.<sup>176</sup> Only within the expectation of the coming Kingdom of God can Christians find the

power to 'resist accomodation' with the world around them and have 'something peculiar to say to the world.'<sup>177</sup> In this way the historic Scottish Reformed doctrine of the 'Twa kingdoms', starting with Andrew Melville, can be re-thought within this liberating horizon of 'dual citizenship'. The Christian community's eschatological citizenship would then function as the 'mystique' which is vital to the health of the 'politique' in democratic citizenship, as Duncan Forrester has suggested.<sup>178</sup>

In a post-modern Scottish political context, a model of dual citizenship, sustained by the expectant horizon of God's Kingdom, would hold the autonomy and sovereignty of the citizen in critical tension with the freedom and sovereignty of the crucified and trinitarian God revealed in Jesus Christ. The static, triumphal political theology which upheld the identity paradigm of a Christ<sup>ian</sup> nation, with Christ the King on his throne securing the established order in church and state, would give way to a prophetic and trinitarian theology which more readily recognised Christ's political presence among the poor and marginal in state and society and within the subversive agenda of the Kingdom of God.<sup>179</sup>

Within that horizon, liberating it from false political hopes or idolatrous ideologies and political theologies, the Christian community might be free to consider new ways of expressing its deepest

constitutional convictions and imagine new political forms of Scottish nationhood. As post-modern Scotland seeks political autonomy as a nation within the larger political community of Europe, it will have to develop democratic structures which guarantee and protect the freedoms, civil and social rights of its citizens, and constitutional structures which allow for the distribution of political sovereignty in several autonomous levels of government, not least at the level of a democratic Scottish Parliament.

In such a context, two developments are likely. First, the centralized British state will resist the moving of political power and the recognition of sovereignty up to the European level and down to the Scottish national level. Therefore, the Christian political model of nationhood will have to be able to handle ethical, theological and practical questions of conflict with that British state. The identity model of a church-state establishment will be ill-equipped to do so because of its ultimate ecclesiastical interest in maintaining the status quo, with its residual political theological images of a Christian nation guaranteed by that British state. The liberating model of dual citizenship, determined by the eschatological horizon of God's justice for the oppressed, will be open to resolving that conflict in the interests of the citizens and not the established Kirk.

To that end, the second likely development will be that a Kirk operating with the liberating model of dual citizenship will have to consider the post-modern successor to its own historical, national role in guaranteeing and defending spiritual freedoms against the powers of the secular state. Interpreted constitutionally and nationally, rather than christologically, the Kirk's Fourth Article Declaratory claims entrenched powers to determine certain human rights and interests for the nation which cannot be encroached upon by the civil authority. The Scottish Reformed (and medieval Catholic) constitutional model was of a polity with two equal and sovereign bodies in their own sphere, the spiritual and the temporal. Like a double star in the heavens, they orbited one another, keeping each other in check and balance and on a true course. In a post-modern context, where no one religion or national institution can claim to embody the human rights and values which citizens may wish to see defended against the political powers and policies of the state, another constitutional body may have to replace the national Kirk in this constitutional galaxy. The most suitable constitutional replacement would be an entrenched Bill of Rights administered by a supreme court with the independent powers to enforce the terms of a written democratic constitution for Scotland.<sup>180</sup>

In such a new constitutional settlement for

Scottish nationhood, the 'Churches in Scotland' would be freed to engage in a prophetic critique of the exercise of democratic citizenship, not only within the provisional horizon of this Bill of Rights and Scottish constitution but also within the wider and ultimate horizon of the kingdom of God's just rule and gift of peace. Then the church would appear in the political arena as a voice for the marginal and the powerless, often in conflict with the (Scottish) state on their behalf, and not as the defender of the political establishment of which it was an interested party.<sup>181</sup> This argument from the liberating eschatological horizon of dual citizenship is not making a conventional case for the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. It is rather making the more radical case that the Church of Scotland's constitutional position should become the constitutional right of every citizen and the nation of Scotland itself. That would represent a major and liberating paradigm shift in church and state, from a concern for the institutional pillars of the Christian nation to a commitment to the eschatological perspective of the kingdom of God and its anticipation in the struggle for justice and the rule of love in Scotland.

It would also represent the renewal of the Church of Scotland's own deepest political theological roots, in the political theology of Augustine (mediated to it through Calvin). R. A. Markus has noted the way in which

the later Augustine, author of The City of God, rejected the prevailing fourth century political theologies of the Christian Empire in favour of an eschatological perspective on human history and politics: 'In his rejection of the Constantinian, or more exactly, Theodosian, establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire, and of the theology behind the 'Christian Empire', Augustine devised the charter for a critique of all sacral conceptions of society.'<sup>182</sup> Augustine came from Africa, where there was a tradition that the Church and Christians were separate from the world, as typified by the separatist Donatists. Augustine shared that tradition but unlike the Donatists, Augustine 'saw the Christian's homelessness in the world not in sociological but in eschatological terms.'<sup>183</sup> As Markus describes Augustine's eschatological insight into Christian social practice, 'What prevented the Christian from being at home in his world was not that he had found an alternative home in the Church, but his faith in the transformation of the world through Christ's victory over sin and death and his hope in the final sharing in the Kingdom of God.'<sup>184</sup> It is this Augustinian eschatological perspective of the city of God hid within the earthly city of the 'saeculum', that Markus sees as having great contemporary relevance. Augustine's political theology of the two cities, in our terms the liberating horizon of dual citizenship, liberates the church from the 'sacred order' of the 'Christian

society', then as now:

Augustine's attack on the 'sacral' conception of the Empire liberated the Roman State, and by implication, all politics, from the direct hegemony of the sacred. Society became intrinsically 'secular' in the sense that it is not as such committed to any particular ultimate loyalty. It is the sphere in which different individuals with different beliefs and loyalties pursue their common objectives in as far as they coincide. His 'secularisation' of the realm of politics implies a pluralistic, religiously neutral civil community. Historically, of course, such a society lay entirely beyond the horizons of Augustine's world. After centuries of development it has begun to grow from the soil of what has been Western Christendom; but it is still far from securely established in the modern world. It is assailed from many sides. Even Christians have not generally learned to welcome the disintegration of a 'Christian society' as a profound liberation for the Gospel. Augustinian theology should at least undermine Christian opposition to an open, pluralist, secular society.<sup>185</sup>

The recovery of an Augustinian political theology in the post-modern context of that open, pluralist and secular society, which approached Scottish political and constitutional conflicts from the liberating horizon of God's coming Kingdom of justice in Jesus Christ, would mean a profound liberation for the gospel in Scotland. It would be freed from the constraints and distortions of establishment theology into a context of prophetic theology and liberating praxis. A renewed Augustinian approach would also liberate Christians to welcome the disintegration of the 'Christian nation' paradigm and free them to work for an open nation within the eschatological horizon of their dual citizenship, in Christ and in Scotland.

If the Church of Scotland undertook the uncertain and costly work of a paradigm shift to a liberating Christ clothed, not in imperial kingship<sup>186</sup> in a triumphal Christian nation, as in its identity paradigm, but in naked service in a post-modern nation, open to his liberating gospel and its neighbour, then it would discover its own contextual theology of liberation.

Kurt Wittig wrote of John the Commonweal, that poor man and early exemplar of a liberating paradigm of Scotland, in Sir David Lyndsay's play, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaites: 'The abstract thought that the common weal is suffering poverty is translated into a picturesque, proverbial image that leaves a lasting impression in the mind - it "gars John the Common Weill want his warm claes [clothes]."'<sup>187</sup> Poverty makes the non-person want her warm clothes. Post-modern Scotland is still a cold country. In this last proverbial image from the Scottish context, the want o' warm claes, we find the final and most powerful liberating image for a new Scottish theology of liberation and a nation open to the Word of God and the neighbour. It is an image with profound biblical and Reformed theological resonances.

Within the Bible, clothing imagery is used to describe both God's concern for justice for the oppressed poor, and humanity's relationship with God in Christ. In



the Old Testament, for example, in Psalm 132, the LORD promises to clothe his priests in salvation (v.16) but to clothe his enemies with shame (v.18). This comes after a prayer that the LORD's priests would be clothed in righteousness (v.9) and the Lord's promise that he will satisfy Israel's poor with bread (v.15). In the New Testament letters, clothing imagery is used to describe the church's relationship with Christ and linked to his creation of a new and reconciled humanity. The letter to the Ephesians ch.4, vv.22-25, describes the Christian life as putting off the old sinful nature and putting on the new nature in Christ, leading to truthful relationships with the neighbour and within the community of the church. The letter to the Galatians ch.3, vv.27-28, describes baptism as putting on Christ. Significantly for our purposes, those who are clothed in Christ through baptism are described as a new humanity in which divisions of race, power relations and gender are overcome in Christ, v.28: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.' And in the Gospels, the Jesus of Matthew's Gospel is represented as linking God's judgment of the nations with the integral work of clothing the naked Son of Man in the act of clothing of the naked poor, Matthew ch.25, vv.31-46, especially vv.36,43: 'I was naked and you clothed me.... naked and you did not clothe me.' Christ is to be met and served clothed in the naked poor. Divided

humanity is to put on Christ and so experience the reality of reconciled community in Christ.

The Reformed theologian John Calvin takes this clothing image and uses it powerfully in his Institutes of the Christian Religion to describe the way in which we may know Christ: 'This, then, is the true knowledge of Christ, if we receive him as he is offered by the Father: namely, clothed with his gospel.'<sup>188</sup> We do not know Christ apart from the way in which the Father offers him to us, clothed in his gospel. As we have seen from the New Testament passages cited above, that gospel is warm clothing for the naked poor and divided humanity, especially the non-persons of the ancient world, the marginal poor, gentiles, slaves and women. If we understand liberation in the integral sense of social, personal and spiritual salvation-liberation from oppression, inner bondage and sin, as set out by Gutierrez and employed in this thesis, then the image of Christ clothed in the warm claes of his gospel becomes a liberating contextual image for the naked poor and non-persons embodied in John the Commonweal.<sup>189</sup>

Christ the liberator clothes the naked, the cold poor of Scotland who lack warm clothes, decent housing, a safe environment, equal rights, self-respect, cultural and educational opportunity, affirming work, democratic power, peace with God. In this warm claes theology,

Jesus the Liberator is found clothed in the marginal non-person, the strange neighbour, the powerless citizen. He offers them the warm claes of his new humanity and righteousness - justice and peace, provisionally clothed in an earthly citizenship striving for a nation open to the Word and the neighbour, ultimately robed in the heavenly citizenship of that coming Kingdom which will see the healing of the nations.<sup>190</sup> The warm claes of the liberated non-person turn out to be the guest robes for the great feast in the Kingdom of God. The Scottish Reformed theological tradition would be true to its own biblical and Calvinian roots if it were to develop such a warm claes theology of liberation in its own context.

### Conclusion

#### From Identity to Liberation: Towards a New Practical Theological Paradigm of Scottish Nationhood

This thesis has explored the relationship between church and nation in Scotland. At the outset, it proposed that nations were, in Benedict Anderson's phrase, imagined communities, the provisional and culturally-created products of human history. From a theological perspective, nations were seen as frail, provisional historical communities under God's sovereign providence and redemptive judgement; not part of the created order but not excluded either from God's ultimate purposes in Christ.<sup>191</sup> We put forward the main thesis

that the Ecclesia Scoticana, the pre- and post-reformation Church of Scotland, has imagined Scotland as a Christian nation through seven centuries and more, operating with a contextual theological approach of identity with the nation.

In developing that thesis, we have used the concepts of paradigm and model to analyse the different Catholic, Reformed and 'secular Calvinist' contextual theologies of national identity within the overall continuity of this Christian approach to Scottish nationhood. We have seen this paradigmatic tradition of the Christian identity of the Scottish nation as a dynamic and creative one over a long period, renewing and reforming itself through the interaction of dominant, emerging and residual models of Christian nationhood and the influence of key historical exemplars. We have sought to show that this identity paradigm first operated within the era of what was defended as 'pre-modern Scottish nationalism', in the period of Scottish statehood and political independence. It then made an accommodation with the rise of the British nation-state, in the era of modern nationalism, in which a distinctive national church became a key institution in Scotland's continuing sense of Scottish nationhood within the multi-national United Kingdom and a dual sense of Scottish-British identity. We have argued that the decline of the national church is linked to the decline of that nation.

The concluding argument of the thesis, in this final chapter, has been that Scotland and its sense of nationhood have now entered the period of post-modernity in the late twentieth century, in which nationhood will be constructed out of a plurality of institutions and identities. It is the era of a post-modern Scottish nationalism, primarily concerned with autonomy and self-determination in Europe, through a Scottish Parliament, a shared sovereignty and a federalism of governmental powers, rather than the self-contained independence and sovereignty once sought by modern Scottish nationalism; and still defended by the British/English constitutional doctrine and politics of the absolute sovereignty of parliament. The dominant discourse of this post-modern nationalism will be the re-emerging republican discourse of citizenship and civic virtue, rather than the increasingly residual or problematic pre-modern and modern nationalist discourses of the nation-state.

In such a changing social context for Scottish nationhood, the thesis finally argued that a paradigm shift was required, to a new Christian paradigm of post-modern Scotland. The identity paradigm of a Christian nation was seen as sociologically inappropriate and theologically ill-equipped to offer a constructive practical theological response to the central issues for post-modern Scotland, including the decline of all-embracing national institutions, the problem of the non-

person and the common good in a pluralist society, and the continuing constitutional and political conflict with the British nation-state.

A contextual theology of liberation rather than of identity, and a paradigm of an open nation, rather than a Christian nation, were proposed as an alternative, evangelical way of imagining Scotland. Our thesis is that the Church of Scotland is in the midst of a paradigm shift in its practical theology and praxis of Scottish nationhood on the eve of the twentyfirst century - a paradigm shift that gars the Kirk want its warm claes, the liberating Word for its neighbours. It must move from questions of identity to those of liberation if it is to develop a new practical theological paradigm of Scottish nationhood. Paradoxically, the imagined community of the Christian nation must die for the sake of what Thomas Chalmers called the Christian good of Scotland - for the sake of the life of a nation open to the eschatological horizon of the Kingdom of God and to the non-persons of post-modernity. In this way Scotland may continue to know Christ clothed in his gospel.

## Notes

1. Robert Schreiter, Constructing Local Theologies (London: SCM Press, 1985), pp.12-3.
2. Ibid., p.13-4; for examples of contextual theologies of identity in a Western context, see Richard John Neuhaus, The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1984), for a critical study of civil religion and American identity; W. A. de Klerk, The Puritans in Africa: A Story of Afrikanerdom (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), for a critical study of Calvinism and Afrikaner identity; Simone Weil, The Need for Roots: Prelude to a Declaration of Duties towards Mankind (1952 London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp.94-175, for a study of Christianity and French identity; Alexander Solzhenitsyn et al., From Under the Rubble (Glasgow: Collins Fontana, 1976), for essays on Orthodox Christianity and Russian identity in a Soviet context; and William Storrar, Scottish Identity: A Christian Vision (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1990), on Reformed Christianity and Scottish national identity.
3. Schreiter, pp.14-5.
4. Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (Revised edition, London: SCM Press, 1988), New Introduction, p.xxxviii. See also the original edition (ET, London: SCM Press, 1974) pp.1-20, for a classic exposition of the Latin American liberation theology approach to the contextual theology of liberation. All other references to Gutierrez, below, are from the 1st edn., 1974. See also a Palestinian contextual theology of liberation, in the context of the oppression and denial of Palestinian rights, in Naim Stifan Ateek, Justice, only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1990), pp.74-150; and a contextual theological reflection on the racial oppression and liberation of African-Americans in the United States of America, in James Cone, God of the Oppressed (New York: New York: Seabury Press, 1975).
5. See Ian G. Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms: A Comparative Study in Science and Religion (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1976). For a major study of the use of the paradigm concept in theology, see Hans Kung, David Tracy (eds.), Paradigm Change in Theology: A Symposium for the Future (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), including Leonardo Boff, 'The Contribution of Liberation Theology to a New Paradigm', pp.408-23. For an example of the use of paradigms in Catholic social theology, see Dermot A. Lane, Foundations for a Social Theology: Praxis, Process and Salvation (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1984).

6. Barbour, p.6.
7. Ibid., p.7.
8. Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1983), pp.14-6.
9. David Nicholls, Deity and Domination: Images of God and the State in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.12-3.
10. For an interactionist theory of the relationship between Christianity/theology and society, assumed in the methodology of this thesis, see Robin Gill, Theology and Social Structure, (London, Mowbrays, 1977), especially pp.129-34. Gill's interactionist paradigm affirms that theology/religion is both socially determined and socially significant in its relationship to society, in a dynamic social and historical process of mutual interaction.
11. God's Will for Church and Nation (London: SCM Press, 1946), p. 182.
12. David McCrone, Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 6-10.
13. Ibid., pp.6-7.
14. A. Melucci, Nomads of the Present (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), pp.86-7, quoted in McCrone, p.9.
15. McCrone, p.9.
16. For a theological evaluation of the concept and experience of post-modernity, and its implication for the Church and its mission in a post-modern world, see (Bishop) Jeremiah Newman, The Postmodern Church (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1990).
17. McCrone, p.221.
18. Ibid., 220.
19. Ibid., see p.214.
20. The present writer has analysed 'modern Scottish nationalism' and its compatability to Christianity in Willam Storrar, Scottish Identity, pp. 137-51, and 226-250. On the nature, history and current state of Scottish nationalism, see Tom Gallagher (ed.), Nationalism in the Nineties (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1991); Roger Levy, Scottish Nationalism at the Crossroads (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990); James G.



Kellas, The Scottish Political System 4th edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.124-43; Tom Nairn, The Break-Up of Britain 2nd edition (London: Verso, 1989); Keith Webb, The Growth of Scottish Nationalism (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978); Christopher Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-1977 (George Allen & Unwin, 1977); Jack Brand, The National Movement in Scotland (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1978); H. J. Hanham, Scottish Nationalism (Faber and Faber, 1969). For essays on Scottish nationalism by Scottish nationalists, see Paul Scott, Towards Independence: Essays on Scotland (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1991); Jim Sillars, Scotland: The Case for Optimism (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1986); Neil MacCormick, 'Nation and Nationalism', in Colin Maclean (ed.), The Crown and the Thistle: the Nature of Nationhood (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1979), pp.99-111, and 'Independence and Constitutional Change', in Neil MacCormick (ed.), The Scottish Debate: Essays on Scottish Nationalism (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.52-64.

21. McCrone, p.214.

22. Ibid., p.219.

23. See Sillars, The Case for Optimism, pp.181-191; Independence in Europe: Make it Happen Now! The 1992 Manifesto of the Scottish National Party (Edinburgh: Scottish National Party, 1992), setting out the SNP policy of independence in Europe.

24. See Owen Dudley Edwards (ed.), A Claim of Right for Scotland (Edinburg: Polygon, 1989), for the text of, and essays on The Claim of Right for Scotland document, first published July, 1988 (Edinburgh, Campaign for a Scottish Assembly); see also Towards Scotland's Parliament: A Report to the Scottish people by the Scottish Constitutional Convention (Edinburgh: Scottish Constitutional Convention, 1990); and Towards Scotland's Parliament: Consultation Document and Report to the Scottish People (Edinburgh: Scottish Constitutional Convention, 1989). For a political commentary on these constitutional and civic democratic developments, see Andrew Marr, The Battle for Scotland (London: Penguin, 1992), pp.164-240; and Magnus Linklater, Robin Denniston (eds.), Anatomy of Scotland: How Scotland Works (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992), pp.373-93.

25. Marr, The Battle for Scotland, pp.164-209.

26. McCrone, p.221.

27. Ibid., p.220.

28. On women and the post-modern feminist politics of autonomy and self-determination, see Woman's Claim of Right Group (eds.), A Woman's Claim of Right for Scotland: Women, Representation and Politics (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1991).
29. Peter L. Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (New York, New York: Doubleday, Anchor Books 1969).
30. Alasdair MacIntyre, After Virtue (London: Duckworth, 1985).
31. Ibid., pp.1-2.
32. Ibid., p.2.: see also MacIntyre, Whose Justice, Which Rationality (London: Duckworth, 1988, pp.1-11, pp.389-403, and Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry (London: Duckworth, 1990), pp.1-31. On the new pagan nature of this canopy, see Thomas Molnar, The Pagan Temptation (Grand Rapids: Michigan: Eerdmans, 1987). For a theological critique of modernity and post-modernity, see David F. Ford, 'Epilogue: Postmodernism and Postscript', in David F. Ford (ed.), The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century Volume II (Oxford, Blackwell, 1989), pp.291-297; David Tracy, Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope (London: SCM Press, 1987); Hans Kung, Global Responsibility (1990), pp.2-4; Jeremiah Newman, The Postmodern Church (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1990).
33. On the problems of sustaining community and religious traditions in pluralist and secular societies, see Jonathan Sacks, The Persistence of Faith: Religion, Morality and Society in a Secular Age (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991; Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William Sullivan, Ann Swidler, Stephen M. Tipton, Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life (New York, New York: Harper & Row, 1985). Bellah's notion of the social ecology of human communities, pp.286-90, 335, taken up by Sacks in his published Reith lectures, in the notion of a community of communities, may offer a liberating model of an open but value-filled society for a post-Christian and post-modern society/nation (a point developed later in the concluding section of this chapter). See also MacIntyre, After Virtue, p.263, on the intriguing role of Christian community in a period of social collapse, and Whose Justice, Which Rationality, pp.209-325, on the Scottish tradition of moral and philosophical reflection on society and community. On the wider sociology of social and cultural change in Scotland, see David McCrone, Stephen Kendrick, Pat Straw (eds.), The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture & Social Change (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989).

34. See Joyce Mcmillan, Scotland on Sunday newspaper column, passim, 1991-1992, for an articulate weekly exposition of this post-modern understanding of national and personal identities.
35. David. J. Bosch, Transforming Mission: Paradigm shift in Theology of Mission (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1991), p.349.
36. See, for example, R. D. Kernohan, The Protestant Future (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1991); and a more sceptical view of the impact of Christian faith on Scottish history and contemporary society in Gordon Donaldson, The Faith of the Scots (London: Batsford, 1990), pp.138-47: p.146, 'Ever since the first conversions, Scotland has contained a Christian community, but whether or not that community has ever been coextensive with the nation is simply not a realistic subject for debate, because there is such limited evidence for faith, which is largely imponderable. However, works, conduct - the fruits of faith - can be quantified, as can churchgoing, and they lend little support to the idea that Christianity ever permeated the nation.' This thesis has not raised such questions of personal faith and the integrity of Christian living in Scotland, although it has assumed that both elements have been present to a significant degree in all the periods under discussion; rather, it has sought to examine the degree to which Christian ideas, images and institutions have influenced Scottish nationhood as an 'imagined community'.
37. See D. F. M. MacDonald, (ed.) 6th edn., Practice and Procedure of the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1976), pp.39-392. For a traditionalist Reformed interpretation of these articles, as they bear on the identity of the Church of Scotland, and of Scotland as a Christian nation, see R. Stuart Loudon, The True face of the Kirk: An Examination of the Ethos and Traditions of the Church of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp.73-86; for a more radical Reformed perspective on the Church of Scotland and Scottish nationhood, see Ian Henderson, Power Without Glory: A Study in Ecumenical Politics (London: Hurchinson, 1967), and Scotland: Kirk and People (Edinburgh: Lutterworth, 1969).
38. For critical analysis and theological reflection on these points in a Scottish context, see W. B. Johnston, 'Church and State in Scotland Today', in Duncan B. Forrester, Alison Elliot (eds.), The Scottish Churches and the Political Process Today (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1986), pp.4-10; Alastair G. Hunter, Steven G. Mackie, A National Church in a Multi-Racial Scotland (Dunblane: Scottish Council of Churches,

1986); William Storrar, Scottish Identity, pp.202-25. For a modern defence of the idea of a national church from the Church of Scotland's historical perspective, see J. H. S. Burleigh, The Scottish Reformation and the Idea of a National Church (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1960), although note his closing comment, p.25, on the Kirk's 'claim to be regarded as the National Church, representative of the Christian Faith of the Scottish People, or better, bearer of the Word of God to this Nation and representative of Christ's Kingdom in Scotland.' This latter definition, ecumenically understood to embrace the 'Churches of Scotland', would offer a liberating model of the Ecclesia Scoticana, defined in terms of the mission of the liberating Word and Kingdom of God rather than any representative national identity. The question of a national Church and a Christian nation, in relation to nationhood and nationalism, in English, Welsh and British contexts is raised in John Habgood, Church and Nation in a Secular Age (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1983); Bernard Thorogood, The Flag and the Cross: National Limits and Church Universal (London: SCM Press, 1988); Keith W. Clements, A Patriotism for Today: Love of Country in Dialogue with the Witness of Dietrich Bonhoeffer (London: Collins, 1986); Daniel Jenkins, The British: Their Identity and Their Religion (London: SCM Press, 1975); Four Nations, One Church? (London: British Council of Churches, nd); Paul H. Ballard, D. Huw Jones (eds.), This Land and People: A Symposium on Christian and Welsh National Identity (Cardiff: Collegiate Centre of Theology, University College, 1979); O. R. Johnston, Nationhood: Towards a Christian Perspective Latimer Studies 7 (Oxford: Latimer House, 1980); and Robin Gill, 'Church and Nation in a Secular Age', review article of Habgood, above, in Theology July 1984, pp.243-50.

39. Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, 1924, pp.639-40.

40. Ibid., see for example, 1925, pp.723-4.

41. Ibid., 1927, see p.1216-20.

42. On this issue, see John Cooney, Scotland and the Papacy: Pope John Paul II's Visit in Perspective (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1982), pp.18-21, for a Scottish Catholic perspective; Graham Walker, Tom Gallagher, 'Protestantism and Scottish Politics', in Graham Walker, Tom Gallagher (eds.), Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp.96-7; Tom Gallagher, Glasgow: The Uneasy Peace (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); Steve Bruce, No Pope of Rome: Militant Protestantism in Modern Scotland (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985; and, for more

detailed analysis of the socio-political and presbyterian church contexts to the Church of Scotland's approach to these issues of Scottish nationhood in this period, see Stewart J. Brown, 'The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism and the Union of 1929', Scottish Church History Society Records Vol XXIV, Part 1 (1990), pp.77-96, esp. pp.91-93, and 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism c.1830 - c.1930', Scottish Journal of Theology Vol 44, (1991), pp. 489-517, esp. pp.512-5.

43. Stewart Brown, 'The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism and the Union of 1929', p.78.

44. Ibid., p.96. On John White's life and thought, see Augustus Muir, John White (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1958), and the two Brown essays cited above. See also, in 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', Brown's trenchant critique of the attempt by White and the united Kirk to 'revive its national leadership', pp.516-7: 'One of White's early acts as leader of the united Church was to revive Thomas Chalmers's Church Extension campaign in the 1830s and to seek, in the midst of the world-wide depression in the 1930s, to restore the Church's parochial supervision of the Scottish nation. But neither the Union of 1929 nor the Church Extension campaign of the 1930s brought a revival of the Church's national leadership. In a sense, the Union of 1929 had been purchased at too high a cost. In concentrating for so long on the pragmatic politics of ecclesiastical union, Church leaders had lost grip with the chief end of the Church - as witness to the coming Kingdom of God.'

45. Brown, 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction', p.517.

46. See T. C. Smout, A Century of the Scottish people 1830-1950 (London: Collins, 1986), pp.58-84; George Rosie, Hugh Miller: Outrage and Order (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1981), pp.91-127; Fionn MacColla, And the Cock Crew (London: Souvenir Press, 1977); Christina Bewley, Muir of Huntershill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Terry Brotherstone (ed.), Covenant, Charter and Party: Traditions of Revolt and Protest in Modern Scottish History (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp.50-91; Peter Berresford Ellis, Seumas Mac a' Ghobhainn, The Scottish Insurrection of 1820 (London: Pluto Press, 1989); Donald C. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945 (New York: Peter Lang, 1987); Stewart Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development 1780-1870 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); Rosalind K. Marshall, Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980 (London: Collins, 1983); Joy Hendry, 'Snug in the Asylum of Taciturnity: Women's



History in Scotland', in Ian Donnachie, Christopher Whately (eds.), The Manufacture of Scottish History (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), pp.125-42; and Lesley Orr MacDonald, 'Women in the Scottish Churches', in the Woman's Claim of Right Group (ed.), A Woman's Claim of Right (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1991), pp.77-94.

47. Historians such as Brown and Smith note this sea-change in attitude and approach to social questions. See Stewart Brown, 'The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism', p.96, commenting on what came after the White years, 'It would require another world war [1939-45], and the work of the war-time Baillie "Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis", to revive the spirit of social criticism within Scotland's national Kirk; and, in 'Reform, Reconstruction, reaction', p.517, 'New leaders, to be sure, emerged in the 1930s to revive the Church of Scotland's social witness - including John Baillie, who returned to Scotland from America in 1934 [influenced by the socially progressive thought of his colleague Rienhold Niebuhr at Union Theological Seminary, New York, and an America rocked by Depression and the victory of President F. D. Roosevelt's 'New Deal' politics of government intervention to tackle social and economic problems - present writer], and George Macleod, who founded the Iona Community in 1938. But great damage had been done to the Church's social influence after the War, and the task of repairing that damage would be tremendous.' Donald C. Smith writes, in Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest, p.380, 'The wise lead which the Church of Scotland gave to the nation on those critical [social and economic] issues which came to light duuring the [second world] War, together with the enlightened attitude which it adopted towards the comprehensive social welfare schemes which were drafted during these years, made it possible for it to play a significant role in easing the transition to social democracy after 1945.(see n.143 in Smith, p.380)' The longer term, post-1945 progressive social vision of the Church of Scotland is noted, with major qualifications about its effectiveness, in Walker and Gallagher, Sermons and Battle Hymns, pp.98-108; and in Christopher Harvie, No Gods and Precious Few Heroes: Scotland 1914-1980 (London: Arnold, 1981), pp.82-84, esp., pp.83-4, 'The Church remained a paradox. Middle-class in recruitment and leadership, and on the whole evangelical in theology, it nevertheless adopted, largely at the behest of the clergy, a range of liberal policies on race, the arts, sexual morality, and home rule. Until the 1960s it was, effectively, the last redoubt of old-fashioned Scottish liberalism. But its appeal to the progressive young was dangerously limited, and in due course a generation of intellectuals, who could sympathize with the Church's radicals, like Macleod or kenneth Mackenzie,

personally and on political issues, simply slipped away from formal belief.' Interestingly, Harvie, a key member of that generation of intellectuals, has since returned to Christian faith and the Church of Scotland, several years after writing this still shrewd observation; as he describes in a paper delivered at Carberry Tower, Musselburgh, 10 June 1988, entitled 'Faith and Scottish Identity', in the possession of the present writer, and partly re-published in the magazine Radical Scotland, 1988: see Storrar, Scottish Identity, pp.84-5.

48. See Church of Scotland: Reports to the General Assembly, Church and Nation Committee reports and deliverances, 1946-1992, for repeated statements and reports in favour of a Scottish Parliament, especially the 1989 report, pp.144-52, on 'The Government of Scotland'. Also, Walker, Gallagher, Sermons and Battle Hymns, p.99; Jock Stein (ed.), Scottish Self-Government: Some Christian Viewpoints (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1989); Jack Brand, The National Movement in Scotland (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp.127-37; and Henry Sefton, 'The Church of Scotland and Scottish nationhood', in Stuart Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), pp.549-55. Both Brand and Sefton (p.555) are of the opinion that the Church of Scotland followed rather than led Scottish public opinion on the Home Rule issue from the later 1940s to the late 1970s; eg., Brand, p.133-4, 'There can be no doubt that the Church of Scotland is unequivocally for a very considerable measure of devolution for Scotland. There can be no doubt that this stance was taken thirty years ago and has been consistently held ever since. It is not possible to dismiss the content of these deliverances [on devolution] as something of peripheral concern to the majority of churchmen and women which could be forced through by a few hotheads.... [Brand notes that they have been well-scrutinized in the General Assembly and press] ... Finally, it should be said that the Church's attitude to devolution grows out of a general concern for Scottish society.... We should also bear in mind the fact that the Church cannot be said to lead the Scottish people on this issue. In the pronouncements just listed they have reacted to events.... the fact of the matter is the Church's opinions are important only for a tiny minority of Scots.... the Church of Scotland is now a peripheral organisation in Scottish life.' Brand's somewhat condescending and magisterial secular comments were made before the advent of Thatcherism in the 1980s (from 1979), a period in which the Church of Scotland has been recognised to have had a significant role in the public debate on Scottish nationhood and social values, not least by Margaret Thatcher in her 1988 Sermon on the Mound. See Hugh Montefiore, Christianity and Politics (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp.76-7, 80, 86-90, 111-

5; Walker, Gallagher, pp.104-8, incl., p.105, '... by the end of the 1980s the national church and the state found themselves further apart than at any point since the dawn of political democracy in Britain.' This was a remarkable achievement for a body Brand saw as a peripheral organisation. And yet, significantly, it gained that influence, even in the midst of its continuing institutional decline, as a prophetic and critical church on behalf of the poor and oppressed, and those perceived to be denied democratic rights of self-government under government policy. The argument of this thesis does not deny that the Church of Scotland responded to, rather than led the nation, in its concern about self-government. Indeed the Church of Scotland reports on self-government from 1946 onwards acknowledge that fact themselves, and it may be argued that this was a faithful use of the methodology of a contextual theology of identity; a responsive reading of the socio-political dynamics in a nation concerned about its constitutional identity. Where this thesis does take issue with the Church of Scotland response to devolution, is in its self-conscious use of the Christian paradigm of Scottish identity to rule out a theological and prophetic basis for that response.

49. Royal Commission on the Constitution 1969-1973 Volume I, 'Report', (London: HMSO, 1973). This commission was convened under the chairmanship of Lord Crowther, and, following his death, Lord Kilbrandon. On the Commission, see Anthony H. Birch, Political Integration and Disintegration in the British Isles (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), pp.151-62, 168-9; Vernon Bogdanor, Devolution (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp.147-52 et passim; Richard Rose, Understanding the United Kingdom: the Territorial Dimension in Government (London: Longman, 1982), passim; H. M. Drucker, Gordon Brown, The Politics of Nationalism and Devolution (London: Longman, 1980), passim; and James G. Kellas, The Scottish Political System 4th edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.147-50 et passim.

50. (Kilbrandon) Royal Commission on the Constitution Minutes of Evidence II Scotland (London: HMSO, 1969), p.51.

51. Ibid., pp.49-51.

52. Ibid., p.52.

53. Ibid., p.51.

54. On the Church of Scotland's Western constitutional tradition in church-state relations and its relevance to constitutional questions of Scottish self-government, see the Church of Scotland Church and Nation Committee 1989



Report on 'The Government of Scotland', cited above. On the federalist constitutional principle operating in that tradition, see Harold J. Laski, Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty, 1968, ch. II, 'The Political Theory of the Disruption', pp.27-68.

55. Commission on the Constitution, Minutes of Evidence II, p.65.

56. Harold J. Laski, Studies in the Problems of Sovereignty, p.65.

57. See Rolf Sjolinder, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland 1907-1921 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1962), p.390; and Cox, Practice and Procedure of the Church of Scotland, 6th edn., p.391.

58. Sjolinder, pp.309-58. The act opens thus, p.357 'An Act to declare the lawfulness of certain Articles declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland in matters spiritual prepared with the authority of the Church of Scotland.' On the British doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, see Colin Turpin, British Government and the Constitution: Texts, Cases and Materials (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), pp.22-39. Turpin, p.22, cites Dicey, and his 'magisterial Law of the Constitution' which regarded parliamentary sovereignty as 'the very keystone of the law of the constitution': Dicey stated there, 'The principle of Parliamentary sovereignty means neither more nor less than this, namely, that Parliament....has, under the English constitution, the right to make or unmake any law whatever; and, further, that no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament.' As Lord President Cooper said, in a Scottish legal opinion on this English constitutional doctrine, 'The principle of the unlimited sovereignty of Parliament is a distinctively English principle which has no counterpart in Scottish constitutional law.' (Quoted in Reports to the General Assembly, 1989, p.146.) See also, Nevil Johnson, In Search of the Constitution: Reflections on State and Society in Britain (London: Methuen, 1980), pp.32, 44, and chs. 3,4 and 6. On the clash of the Scottish and English constitutional doctrines of sovereignty in church-state relations, see Taylor Innes, The Laws of Creeds in Scotland, pp.68-96. As Taylor states, referring to a statement of Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons on the constitutional dispute leading up to the Disruption in 1843, p.96: 'Sir Robert Peel's denial of autonomy or self-government to the Church of Scotland was not gratuitous. That was at the foundation of its claim.' See also Francis Lyall, Of Presbyters and Kings: Church & State in the Law of Scotland, pp.23-53.

59. Sjolinder, p.391; and Cox, p.391.
60. This was the Scottish constitutional interpretation given by Ferrier to the nature of the constitutional conflict at the time of the Disruption in his essay on Church and State. See George Davie, The Democratic Intellect (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981 pbk edn.), pp.306-9.
61. Commission on the Constitution, Minutes of Evidence II, pp.65-6.
62. Reports of the Church of Scotland, 1989, p.148.
63. A liberating Reformed approach to church-state relations and political questions can be found in John W. de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology: A South African Contribution to an Ecumenical Debate, pp.236-281. Note, p.281, where de Gruchy quotes the liberation theologian Migue Bonino's words on the connection between love and politics, and then comments himself, 'We have returned, then, to Calvin's insistence that the laws of every nation, and therefore the exercise of justice, must conform to the "perpetual rule of love," a rule central to the hermeneutics and praxis of Reformed, Catholic and liberation theology.' A liberationist theological approach to the constitutional questions involved in nation-building, taking into account the Reformed perspective, can be found in Charles Villa-Vicencio, A Theology of Nation-building: Nation-building and Human Rights, pp.143-50.
64. See Duncan B. Forrester, 'Theology and Constitution: Some Reflections', in Jock Stein (ed.), Scottish Self-Government: Some Christian Viewpoints, p.32-3; and Reports to the General Assembly, 1989, pp.144-52.
65. Reports to the General Assembly, 1989, p.149.
66. Commission on the Constitution, Minutes of Evidence II, p.59.
67. Ibid..
68. Ibid..
69. John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, pp.89-91.
70. See Klaus Scholder, A Requiem for Hitler and other New Perspectives on the German Church Struggle (London: SCM Press, 1989) on the way in which the political situation under Hitler, and the German church's failure to interpret that situation under national socialism in the critical and prophetic terms of the gospel, damaged

and distorted its witness to the gospel. Similarly, see the following works for the way in which the failure, until recently, of the Afrikaner Reformed churches in South Africa to oppose apartheid, damaged their witness to the gospel in that situation: John de Gruchy, Charles Villa-Vicencio (eds.), Apartheid is a Heresy (Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1983); de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology; Villa-Vicencio, A Theology of Reconstruction; de Klerk, The Puritans in Africa.

71. Commission on the Constitution, Minutes of Evidence II, pp.50-1.

72. See Stewart Brown, Thomas Chalmers, chs.5-7.

73. See Donald C. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest, Parts Two and Three.

74. On the referendum, see John Bochel, David Denver, Allan Macartney, The Referendum Experience: Scotland 1979 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1981).

75. Ibid., p.3.

76. See report in The Scotsman newspaper, 23 February 1979.

77. Ibid..

78. See Donald Mackay (ed.), Scotland: The Framework for Change (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1979), for detailed essays on different aspects of the powers and operation of Labour's proposed Scottish Assembly as set out in its Scotland act (1978).

79. Arnold Kemp, in The Scotsman newspaper, 29 January 1979.

80. Henry Sefton, 'The Church of Scotland and Scottish Nationhood', in Stuart Mews (ed.), Religion and National Identity, p.555.

81. Ibid., p.549, and see Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1968, p.112.

82. W. B. Johnston, 'Church and State in Scotland Today', in The Scottish Churches and the Political Process Today (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1986), p.6.

83. The present writer, who was the author of the draft report on the government of Scotland later accepted by the Church and Nation Committee and the Church of Scotland General Assembly in 1989, would wish to acknowledge the germinal influence of Johnston's critique

on his own thinking in preparing that report and in the analysis of these events presented in this thesis, although its subsequent development in the 1989 report and in this doctoral thesis are entirely the present writer's own work and responsibility.

84. Reports to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1989, pp.144-5.

85. See A. Hunter, S. Mackie, above.

86. Duncan B. Forrester, Danus Skene, Just Sharing: A Christian Approach to the Distribution of Wealth, Income and Benefits (London: Epworth Press, 1988), pp.vii-viii.

87. A fruitful distinction has been made in the South African Kairos document (1986) between 'church theology' and 'state theology', on the one hand, and 'prophetic theology', on the other, which has parallels with the distinction being made here between 'establishment' theology, upholding the existing structures of power and national ideology in Scotland, and 'prophetic theology', which seeks to analyse and question institutions and ideologies from the critical perspective of the gospel. On the theological typology set out in the Kairos document, see Duncan B. Forrester, Theology and Politics, p.154, 162, 164-5, 168.

88. Walter Brueggemann, The Prophetic Imagination (London: SCM Press, 1978). See, for example, his use of 'model' on p.23, 'The alternative consciousness wrought by Moses also provides a model for energizing. Moses and this narrative create the sense of new realities that can be trusted and relied upon just when the old realities had left us hopeless.'; and his employment of the concepts of paradigm and imagination, for example on p.42, 'So this is the paradigm I suggest for the prophetic imagination. A royal consciousness committed to achievable satiation. An alternative prophetic consciousness devoted to the pathos and passion of covenanting.' Brueggemann sets out his use of the term 'imagination' on pp.44-6, including the following extracts, first on p.44 'We have considered as a paradigm for prophetic imagination the formation of a consciousness that is a genuine alternative to the royal consciousness.... We are all children of the royal consciousness.... So the first question is How (sic) can we have enough freedom to imagine and articulate a real historical newness in our situation? ... We need to ask not whether it is realistic or practical or viable but whether it is imaginable. We need to ask if our consciousness and imagination have been so assaulted and co-opted by the royal consciousness that we have been robbed of the courage or power to think an alternative thought.'; and on p.45, 'The prophet does not ask if the

vision can be implemented, for questions of implementation are of no consequence until the vision can be imagined. The imagination must come before the implementation. Our culture is competent to implement almost anything and to imagine almost nothing. The same royal consciousness that makes it possible to implement anything and everything is the one that shrinks imagination because imagination is a danger. It is the vocation of the prophet to keep alive the ministry of imagination, to keep on conjuring and proposing alternative futures to the single one the king wants to urge as the only thinkable one.' Brueggemann's understanding of the role of imagination in creating real prophetic consciousness is not dissimilar to Benedict Anderson's use of the term 'imagined' in creating national consciousness, see Anderson, Imagined Communities, (2nd edn., London: Verso, 1991), pp.5-7. Brueggemann also uses the idea of historical exemplars to establish and transmit the paradigmatic tradition of prophetic consciousness, as on p.15, '... we are on sound ground if we take as our beginning point Moses as the paradigmatic prophet who sought to invoke in Israel an alternative consciousness.' He also uses Solomon as the historical exemplar of the royal consciousness paradigm, pp.30-43,46, and Jeremiah and Second Isaiah as continuing and classic historical exemplars or models of prophetic consciousness, pp.51-79: as on p.51, '... I suggest Jeremiah as the clearest model for prophetic imagination and ministry. He is a paradigm.... Jeremiah embodies the alternative consciousness of Moses....', and on p.79, their inseparable and linked roles in transmitting the paradigmatic tradition. Jesus of Nazareth is the supreme and ultimate historical exemplar of the paradigmatic tradition of prophetic consciousness, see pp.80-108. See also Brueggemann's essay, 'Trajectories in Old Testament Literature and the Sociology of Ancient Israel', in Norman K. Gottwald (ed.), The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1983), pp.307-33; and Brueggemann's own references in The Prophetic Imagination to Gottwald's works, p.115, n.6.

89. See, for example, Brueggemann's use of the idea of emerging prophetic consciousness in The Prophetic Imagination, p.16, 'Prophecy is born precisely in that moment when the emergence of social political reality is so radical and inexplicable that it has nothing less than a theological cause.'; and on pp.18-9, 'The program (sic) of Moses is not the freeing of a little band of slaves as an escape from the empire, though that is important enough.... Rather, his work is nothing less than an assault on the consciousness of the empire, aimed at nothing less than the dismantling of empire both in its social practices and in its mythic pretensions. Israel emerged not by Moses' hand - although not without Moses'



hand - as a genuine alternative community. The prophetic tradition knows that it bears a genuine alternative to a theology of God's enslavement and a sociology of human enslavement.' (my emphasis) And Brueggemann's central concept of dominant imperial and royal consciousness, in Egypt, Israel and the contemporary Western church, against which the emerging prophetic consciousness must operate, can be found throughout the book, but see, for example, on p.80: 'The dominant consciousness must be radically criticized and the dominant community must be finally dismantled. The purpose of an alternative community with an alternative consciousness is for the sake of that criticism and dismantling.' (my emphasis)

90. Ibid., p.42.

91. Ibid., p.13

92. Ibid., pp.11-27.

93. Ibid., p.16-7.

94. Ibid., p.30.

95. Ibid., p.41.

96. Ibid., p.42.

97. Ibid., pp.80-1.

98. Ibid., p.95.

99. Ibid., p.25.

100. Ibid., pp.107-8.

101. James Kellas, Modern Scotland, 2nd edn. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980).

102. See William Storrar, Scottish Identity, pp.4-8, and Montefiore, above.

103. Mark Kline Taylor, 'Immanent and Prophetic: Shaping Reformed Theology for the Late Twentieth Century' (unpublished paper, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1983), p.29, cited in John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, pp.181-2.

104. Donald C. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest, p.61. As he states on p.60, 'It is always disturbing to find the Christian Church with its great stress on the the equality of all people in the sight of God, and the infinite dignity and worth of each and every human being for whom Christ died, attempting to justify morally a system of class inequality. It is even more

disturbing in the case of the Dissenting Churches (Seceder Churches) whose essentially democratic ecclesiastical structures stressed the importance of lay participation in church affairs; who were passionately committed to religious freedom and spiritual equality; and who were powerful advocates of political and civil liberties. Yet this is exactly what all the (Reformed) Churches attempted to do throughout most of the 19th century. They did so by "spiritualizing" the concept of Christian equality. The equality of Christians before God was interpreted in a spiritual sense by relegating it to the sphere of transcendence and irrelevance. True, the Church taught that in the eyes of God there were no social or economic distinctions and divisions - no aristocracy or peasants, no rich or poor - that all were one in Christ Jesus. But this only applied to the "spiritual" world. It had nothing to do with real life in society. Christian equality had absolutely no social, political or economic significance.' While being critical of this spiritualizing 'establishment theology', as we have termed it, in the Scottish Reformed tradition, we are not arguing for a social theology of immanence alone. As Brueggemann shows, in The Prophetic Imagination, p.17, an authentically biblical prophetic paradigm unites the transcendent freedom of God with his immanent struggle for justice, where both are seen as vital to the distinctive Mosaic prophetic consciousness: 'Moses introduced not just the new free God and not just a message of social liberation. Rather, his work came precisely at the engagement of the religion of God's freedom with the politics of human justice.' See also pp.25-7, on the place of doxology in sustaining prophetic consciousness, not least in Moses' song, Exodus 15:1-18. This point is also considered by Nicholas Wolterstorff, Until Justice and Peace Embrace (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983) ch. VII, 'Justice and Worship: The Tragedy of Liturgy in Protestantism', pp.146-61: eg., p.152, '... Christian worship is revealed to be a descendent of the worship of old Israel. Recall then the farewell speech of Moses to the tribes of Israel, as we find it in the book of Deuteronomy.... three themes interweave throughout the speech: remember, expect, and take heed. Israel is forever to remember that the God who created the heavens and the earth has liberated it from the bondage of toiling in the brickyards of Egypt.... What was unique in the life of Israel was that its work and worship were to be its way of keeping faith with the God whose actions of liberation and blessing in the course of history it was forever to remember and expect.... the overarching background of Christian work and worship, though different in its content, is identical in its structure.' See also John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, pp.231-5, 'Celebrating Hope in Solidarity': p.232, 'For Calvin worship and mission belonged together, eucharistic celebration and ethics

could not be separated, the struggle against dehumanizing idols and the worship of the true God belong together. Unfortunately this is too often not the case in the Reformed tradition.'

105. John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, pp.231-2.

106. See Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation (London: SCM Press, 1974), ch.1, 'Theology: A Critical Reflection', pp.3-19; Leonardo Boff, Clodovis Boff, Introducing Liberation Theology (Turnbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1987), ch.3, 'How Liberation Theology is Done', pp.22-42; Rosino Gibellini, The Liberation Theology Debate (London: SCM Press, 1987), ch.1, 'The Origin and Method of Liberation Theology', pp.1-19; Juan Luis Segundo, The Liberation of Theology (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1977); Jon Sobrino, Christology at the Crossroads: A Latin American View (London: SCM Press, 1978); James H. Cone, God of the Oppressed, above; Naim Stifan Ateek, Justice, and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation, above; Duncan B. Forrester, Theology and Politics (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp.57-149, including ch.3, 'The Promise of Liberation Theology'. For a critical theological assessment of liberation theology, and its methods, see Dennis P. McCann, Christian Realism and Liberation Theology: Practical Theologies in Creative Conflict (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1982).

107. For a discussion of liberation theology in a First World and British context, see Christopher Rowland, Mark Corner, Liberating Exegesis: The Challenge of Liberation Theology to Biblical Studies (London: SPCK, 1990), pp.156-90. On the important question of the relationship between liberation theology and the Reformed theological tradition of which the Church of Scotland is part, see John W. de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology: A South African Contribution to an Ecumenical Debate, noting in particular his pivotal use of the Scots Confession, 1560, pp.88-91, and Nicholas Wolterstorff, Until Justice and Peace Embrace, a comparative study of Latin American liberation theology's liberation theme and the Dutch neo-Calvinist theme of disclosure in doing social and political theology; on the question of relating liberation theology to the constructive work of nation-building, in a South African context, see Charles Villa-Vicencio, A Theology of Reconstruction: Nation-building and Human Rights (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), a study with many insights appropriate to a Scottish context, particularly the Reformed perspective on the role of human rights and constitutional law in the building of a liberating model of nationhood, pp.143-50. On human rights in a Scottish context, grounded in the (Christian) constitutional and social tradition in



Scotland, see Alan Miller, A Bill of Rights for Scotland (Glasgow: Scottish Council for Civil Liberties, 1991), a draft Bill of Rights in preparation for a proposed Scottish parliament.

108. Gustavo Gutierrez, in Concilium 6, 1974, 87f., quoted in Gibellini, The Liberation Theology Debate, pp.13-4. See also Forrester, Theology and Politics, p.64-5, 'The Central Issue for Liberation Theology'. See also Leonardo Boff, Clodovis Boff, Introducing Liberation Theology, ch. 1, 'The Basic Question: How to be Christians in a World of Destitution', pp.1-10: eg., pp.3-4, 'Liberation theology was born when faith confronted the injustice done to the poor.... the socially and historically oppressed make up the poor as a social phenomenon. In the light of faith, Christians see in them the challenging face of the Suffering Servant, Jesus Christ.'

109. In, for example, the Aberdeen practical theologian David Cairns' otherwise notable study of human identity, The Image of God in Man (Revised edn., Glasgow: Collins, 1973), the focus is overwhelmingly philosophical and doctrinal, with only a short consideration of the social context of oppression, and de-humanization through such political and social oppression, in his chapter xv, on 'Karl Marx's Conception of Man', pp.214-32 (although, even here, his interests are primarily epistemological and philosophical).

110. Joe Corrie, 'The Image o' God', in Tom Scott (ed.), The Penguin Book of Scottish Verse (Harmondsworth: penguin, 1970), p.457.

111. Information taken from leaflet entitled, and published by, Engender: The Scottish Women's Foundation (Edinburgh: c/o Scotland on Sunday newspaper, 1992); for accounts of the experience of being a non-person, as women, the poor and minorities in Scottish society, see essays in A Woman's Claim of Right for Scotland; Gordon Brown, Robin Cook (eds.) Scotland The Real Divide: Poverty and Deprivation in Scotland (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1983), especially the essay, 'Being Poor', by William McIllvanney, pp.23-26; Duncan B. Forrester, Danus Skene, Just Sharing: A Christian Approach to the Distribution of Wealth, Income and Benefits; John Harvey, Bridging the Gap: Has the Church Failed the Poor? (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1987).

112. Lesley Orr Macdonald, 'Women in the Scottish Churches', in A Woman's Claim of Right, p.77.

113. Isobel Lindsay, 'Constitutional Change and the Gender Deficit', in A Woman's Claim of Right, p.7.

114. Brueggemann, The Prophetic Imagination, p.107-8.

115. Lesley Orr Macdonald, *ibid.*, p.94. Against that hope of a new liberating paradigm of the church in Scotland, see the sociological study of the social experience and social significance of Church of Scotland membership in the period 1968-70, including the experience of women in the church, by Peter L. Sissons, The Social Significance of Church Membership in the Burgh of Falkirk (Edinburgh: The Church of Scotland, 1973).

116. R. F. Mackenzie, A Search for Scotland (London: Collins, 1991), p.143.

117. See Linklater, Denniston, Anatomy of Scotland, pp.373-93; Marr, The Battle for Scotland; Jock Stein (ed.), Scottish Self-Government: Some Christian Viewpoints (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1989). On women and citizenship in Scotland, see A Woman's Claim of Right.

118. See The 1989 Church and Nation Committee Report on the Government of Scotland, in Stein, pp.14-23, and supporting essays; and Alan Miller, A Bill of Rights for Scotland, pp.2-5.

119. Owen Dudley Edwards (ed.), A Claim of Right for Scotland (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1989), p.51.

120. See Campaign for a Scottish Assembly, A Claim of Right for Scotland: Report of the Constitutional Steering Committee (Edinburgh:CSA, July, 1988), p.29, for the list of committee members, but including a professor of public law, a former convener of the Church of Scotland Church and Nation Committee, the general secretary of the then Scottish Council of Churches and a Roman Catholic bishop.

121. For such an argument in an Irish context, see Noel Dermot O'Donoghue, 'Liberation Theology and the Irish Experience', Irish Theological Quarterly, Vol. 16:1 (1979:1), pp.21-39. This thesis is neither adopting the Marxist social analysis found in much but not all Latin American Liberation theology nor seeking to address the debate about its use in liberation theologies. The thesis has adopted the distinctive methodological assumption of liberation theology, that the social sciences must play an integral part in its contextual theological method. As Gibellini notes, in The Liberation Theology Debate, pp.11-2, such analysis is within its stated prior commitment to the oppressed and to a liberating praxis: 'In substance, the novelty of liberation theology consists in the acceptance of socio-analytical mediation within theological discourse: this involves a restructuring of hermeneutical mediation.... So just as the assumption of socio-analytical mediation depends on a

prior option in favour of the oppressed and is directed towards a praxis of liberation, so the social analysis favoured is not of a functional type (society seen as an organic whole) which would lead to a reformist practice, but of a dialectical type (society as a complex of forces in tension), which leads to a praxis of liberation.' Such a liberationist perspective and form of social analysis has led the argument of this thesis to reject the reformist option in any Christian approach to Scottish nationhood, ie., by offering a contemporary model of the Christian nation within the identity paradigm. Rather, Scotland has been seen dialectically, undergoing the profound tensions of post-modern social change, requiring a praxis of liberation into a new paradigm and Christian models for Scottish nationhood. We have drawn on the post-modern (non-Marxist) sociological analysis of David McCrone, in Understanding Scotland: the Sociology of a Stateless Nation, and the post-modern political analysis of civil politics found in the (non-Marxist) political critique of Scotland by Marr, The Battle for Scotland, and by Lindsay Paterson, 'Ane End of ane Auld Sang: Sovereignty and the Re-Negotiation of the Union', Scottish Government Year Book 1991, pp.104-22. On liberation theology's problematic use of Marxism, see Duncan B. Forrester, Theology and Politics, pp.76-8. Neither has this thesis countenanced the option of the use of armed force or violence in its notion of liberating praxis, as has been considered by some liberation theologians in some contexts. Such liberating praxis in a Scottish context lies strictly within non-violent processes of spiritual, social, cultural, political, economic and constitutional liberation from a paradigmatic tradition and political settlement in church and nation which are perceived by many as oppressive, dehumanizing and beyond ameliorating reform. As Brueggemann has written of the prophetic imagination, it first seeks to challenge and alter the consciousness of the oppressive regime, and then imagine alternative futures, as the vital pre-condition of radical historical change (see above). This thesis has been concerned with liberation rather than reform, in Brueggemann's sense that a paradigmatic shift in consciousness is required, as a necessary part of the processes of historical change and transformation. This shift in consciousness is, of course, inseparable from and dialectically related to the need for change in actual practice.

122. John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, p.xvii. De Gruchy develops a liberating interpretation of Calvin and the Reformed theological tradition and draws many points of contact between its biblical method and content, and that of the Latin American liberation theologians, not least their shared commitment to the doing of the truth in a gospel of grace and justice in

action: pp.89-90, '... both Calvin and many liberation theologians are biblical rather than speculative or philosophical theologians.... We only know the truth as we become engaged in what the living and liberating Word requires of us. We know who Jesus is when we follow him. Ultimately, both Catholic liberation and Reformed theology find their focus in this spirituality of evangelical discipleship which ... is inseparable from the struggle for justice and liberation.... For Calvin as for Augustine before him and Gutierrez after him, what the Scots Confession calls "the rule of love" is the ultimate principle of biblical interpretation because it is the ultimate expression of our faith response to God's liberating grace. And, insofar as doing justice is the way in which love engages social need and oppression, love working itself out in the struggle for justice becomes the crucial key to discerning God's liberating Word for the world today.' See also John W. de Gruchy, 'No Other Gospel: Is Liberation Theology a Reduction of the Gospel?', in Christian D. Kettler, Todd H. Speidell (eds.), Incarnational Ministry: The Presence of Christ in Church, Family and Society, Essays in Honour of Ray. S. Anderson (Colorado Springs, Colorado: Helmers & Howard, 1990), pp.176-90.

123. Forrester, Theology and Politics, p.55.

124. Neuhaus, The Naked Public Square.

125. While the post-modern sociological and political analysis offered by McCrone and Paterson, above, has been employed in this thesis, the writer is aware of the wider debate about the definition and problematic of post-modernity, particularly for religion. See, for example, Ernest Gellner, Postmodernism, Reason and Religion (London: Routledge, 1992), in which the author defends the notion of the uniqueness of truth (as an 'Enlightenment Rationalist Fundamentalist', p.80), in the context of a critical evaluation of post-modernism, religious fundamentalism and relativism: see, for example, his closing comment on post-modern relativism, as he sees it, p.96, 'To the relativists, one can only say - you provide an excellent account of the manner in which we choose our menu or our wall paper. As an account of the realities of our world and a guide to conduct, your position is laughable.' See also Hans Kung, Global Responsibility: The Search for a New Ethic (London: SCM Press, 1991), ch.1, 'From Modernity to Postmodernity', pp.1-24, esp. 'The Rising World Constellation of Postmodernity', pp.19-24, in which Kung offers a more positive assessment of postmodernity than Gellner. Kung analyses the post-modern theory in terms of a paradigm shift from 'modernity' to a 'postmodernity' which is not anti-modernity or seeking 'a "renewed Christian Europe" in the premodern sense', p.23, which

opposes radical relativism, seeks a 'new differentiated, pluralistic and holistic synthesis', p.24, and 'strives for a new basic consensus of integrative human convictions in a new world constellation towards which democratic pluralistic society is inexorably directed if it is to survive', p.22. Jeremiah Newman considers the meaning of post-modernity in a positive light for the life and mission of the (Roman Catholic) church, in his book, The Postmodern Church.

126. David Bosch, Transforming Mission, p.187.

127. Ibid., p.188.

128. Cox., p.471.; God's Will for Church and Nation, p.182.

129. Cox, p.471.

130. On the question of unity and diversity in ecumenical fellowship, see Michael Kinnamon, Truth and Community: Diversity and its Limits in the Ecumenical Movement (Grand Rapids, Michigan & Geneva: Eerdmans/WCC, 1988).

131. Kung, Global Responsibility, p.22.

132. See Stewart J. Brown, in his two essays, above, 'The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism and the Union of 1929', and 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism c.1830-c.1930'; and Peter Bisset, The Kirk and Her Scotland,

133. On the role of a liberating 'eucharistic piety' in addressing the concerns of post-modern society, see W. Pannenberg, Christian Spirituality and Sacramental Community (London: SCM Press, 1984).

134. See John de Gruchy, Liberating Reformed Theology, in which this Reformed understanding of the church as a liberating and prophetic community is considered, ch.5, 'The Church Always Reforming', pp.189-235.

135. Ibid., pp.229-30.

136. Ibid., pp.47-91.

137. Stanley Hauerwas, A Community of Character: Toward a Constructive Christian Ethic (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), Parts One & Two. In ch.5, Hauerwas addresses the problem of the universal truth claims of the particular Christian story in a divided world, pp.89-110.

138. Ibid., p.92.



139. For examples of this in a Scottish context, see the use of biblical narrative in social critique in the writings of Ian M. Fraser, published by the Iona Community, including the forthcoming, Features of the Thatcher Legacy: A Theological Critique, and also his essay, 'Probe: Biblical Resources Relevant to the Claim of Right', in Jock Stein (ed.), Scottish Self-Government: Some Christian Viewpoints, pp.42-4. On the use of Scripture as a liberating narrative shaping and challenging the ethics and character of the common life of the Christian community, see Stephen E. Fowl, L. Gregory Jones, Reading in Communion: Scripture and Ethics in Christian Life (London: SPCK, 1991), esp. ch.4, 'Being Able to Hear the Word of God: Character-izing Interpretive Disputes', pp.84-109, which deals with issues of social conflict, and ch. 5, 'Listening to the Voice of Outsiders', pp.110-34, which considers the outsider's role in helping the Christian community to interpret and live out scripture faithfully. This latter point is very relevant to the church in a post-modern context, set amid 'outsiders', demonstrating the positive contribution of such a social context in helping Christians in a marginal church to hear, understand and obey the liberating narrative of scripture.

140. Ibid., p.110.

141. On the challenge to the primacy of the nation-state in Europe, and a Christian-rooted moral critique of its implications for Scotland, see Christopher Harvie, Cultural Weapons: Scotland and Survival in a New Europe (Edinburgh:Polygon, 1992).

142. On the role of narrative in theology and the life of the church, see George W. Stroup, The Promise of Narrative Theology (London: SCM Press, 1984). On narrative within the Scottish sense of nationhood, see David McCrone, 'Representing Scotland: Culture and Nationalism', and S. Bruce and S. Yearley, 'The Social Construction of Tradition: The Restoration Portraits and the Kings of Scotland', both in McCrone, Kendrick, Straw (eds.), The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture & Social Change, pp.161-88.

143. Robin Gill, Prophecy and Praxis: The Social Function of the Churches (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981), ch.1, 'Prophecy in a Socially Constrained Church', pp.13-31.

144. Brueggemann, The Prophetic Imagination, pp.29-30.

145. Ibid., p.29.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Michael Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), p.222.

149. Brueggemann, p.30.

150. Just Sharing, p.98.

151. On the nature and life of that prophetic and open church, see Jurgen Moltmann, The Open Church: Invitation to a Messianic Lifestyle (London: SCM Press, 1978); and Howard Snyder, Liberating the Church: The Ecology of Church and Kingdom (Basingstoke: Marshall, 1983). On the central role of narrative in the life of the local Christian church, see James F. Hopewell, Congregation: Stories and Structures (London: SCM Press, 1988), as well as cited works by Brueggemann and Hauerwas, above.

152. See N. Onwu, 'The "Neighbour" as a Theological Paradigm for Resolving Conflicts in Africa', Reformed World, Vol.40, No.6 (June 1989), pp.117-27. On the love of the neighbour, see John Piper, "Love Your Enemies": Jesus' Love Commands in the Synoptic Gospels & the Early Christian Paraenesis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); U. Falkenroth, in article on 'Brother, Neighbour, Friend', in Colin Brown (ed.), The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol.1 (Exeter: Paternoster, 1975), pp.258-9. On the need for a theology of the neighbour, see Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, pp.194-203. On the use of the concept of the neighbour in Christian social thinking see D. B. Forrester and D. Skene, Just Sharing, pp.80-9. Karl Barth develops his understanding of the biblical meaning and theology of nations around the concept of the neighbour, in a section entitled 'Near and Distant Neighbours': G. W. Bromiley, T. F. Torrance (eds.), Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol III, Part 4 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961), pp.285-323.

153. Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation, pp.201-3.

154. Reports to the General Assembly, 1987, Church and Nation Committee 'Report of Working Party on the Distribution of Wealth, Income and Benefits', pp.112-20. The fuller report appeared as the publication edited by Duncan B. Forrester and Danus Skene, Just Sharing, 1988, above.

155. Just Sharing, pp.82-3.

156. Ibid., p.81-2. And Reports to the General Assembly, 1987, p.116: 'The Bible ... is not obsessed with the inwardness of the New Community, with relations among Christians, significant as these things are seen to

be. Relations with one's fellows "in the world", with strangers, with aliens, with non-believers, matter even more. They are characteristically seen as neighbours and neighbours like fellow believers, and indeed God himself, are to be loved.... In the New Testament in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10.25-37) it is the stranger, the despised and hated Samaritan who shows himself through his actions to be the neighbour of the Jew, lying wounded and forlorn by the roadside. The earth-shaking assertion that the enemy and the stranger are neighbours vastly expands the sphere of moral responsibility.'

157. Michael Ignatieff, The Need of Strangers (London: Chatto and Windus, 1984), p.14, cited in Just Sharing, p.83.

158. Kung, p.22.

159. Just Sharing, pp.86-7.

160. Apart from the shameful episode of the Church of Scotland's position on Irish immigration in the 1920s and 1930s, claiming to defend Scotland's alleged racial and religious homogeneity, examples today are more readily found in England and the United States of America: in some forms of English nationalism which seek to fuse a defence of 'English Christianity' with support for an allegedly homogeneous English nation and Christian society. See Ruth Levitas (ed.), The Ideology of the New Right (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), pp.123-6, on the English new right's 'Theology of Politics', where, p.125, England/Britain is seen as 'a culture in which nationality, religion and state institutions necessarily inform each other and are interdependent.' See also Richard John Neuhaus, The Naked Public Square, on the approach of Christian fundamentalists in groups like the 'Moral Majority' to the nature of American society and American nationalism.

161. Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler, Tipton, Habits of the Heart, p.335.

162. Ibid., p.284.

163. Ibid., p.333, 335, for definitions of both traditions in American context. See also pp.27-35, on the biblical, republican strands (often closely linked) in American culture, and the third strand or tradition, termed 'Utilitarian and Expressive Individualism'. The biblical and republican strands share a concern for the common good and the virtue of participation in public life.

164. Ibid., p.285.



165. Ibid., p.286, 292-3.

166. Jonathan Sacks, The Persistence of Faith, p.10.

167. Ibid., p.94.

168. Jurgen Moltmann offers the theological basis for such an ecological model of society, in his social trinitarian theology, set out in his book on the doctrine of God, The Trinity and the Kingdom of God (London: SCM Press, 1981). He states his aim, p.19: '... we shall be attempting to develop a social doctrine of the Trinity. We understand the scriptures as the testimony to the history of the Trinity's relations of fellowship, which are open to men and women, and open to the world. This trinitarian hermeneutics leads us to think in terms of relationships and communities.... Here, thinking in relationships and communities is developed out of the doctrine of the Trinity, and is brought to bear on the relation of men and women to God, to other people and to mankind as a whole, as well as on their fellowship with the whole of creation. By taking up panentheistic ideas from the Jewish and the Christian traditions, we shall try to think ecologically about God, man and the world in their relationships and indwellings.' Moltmann's view of trinitarian thinking makes it particularly suited to the move of the post-modern world away from hierarchical, rationalist and mass-control modes of thought and social organisation, and to a profound concern for the otherness of other persons: p.9, 'Where the theological perception of God and his history is concerned, there will be a modern discovery of trinitarian thinking when there is at the same time a fundamental change in modern reason - a change from lordship to fellowship, from conquest to participation, from production to receptivity. The new theological penetration of the trinitarian history of God ought also to free the reason that has been made operational - free it for receptive perception of its Other, free it for participation in the Other. Trinitarian thinking should prepare the way for a liberating and healing concern for the reality that has been destroyed.' We can only suggest here that such social trinitarian thinking resonates with several valid post-modern concerns and insights, and offers a fruitful theological approach for developing a 'liberating and healing' Christian paradigm of post-modern nationhood. The Trinity's relations of fellowship, open to humanity and to the world, call for a reciprocal 'open nation', a community open to the love of the triune God. Moltmann has also written on the theological basis of human rights and dignity, a central post-modern concern, in On Human Dignity: Political Theology and Ethics (London: SCM Press, 1984). On trinitarian thought, see also The Forgotten Trinity, 3 Volumes from the BCC Study Commission on Trinitarian Doctrine Today (London:

169. Cox, p.471. See also, Sjolinder, Laski, Taylor Innes, and Stein.

170. On Andrew Melville's classic statement of the Scottish presbyterian 'two kingdoms doctrine', see J. H. S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp.204-5. On the Reformed 'two kingdoms' doctrine, understood in terms of Christ's Lordship, see Jurgen Moltmann, On Human Dignity, ch.5, pp.79-96.

171. See Marr, pp.164-240.

172. Reports to the General Assembly, 1989, p.148.

173. Smith, Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest, pp.175-86.

174. Ibid., p.179.

175. Ibid., p.177.

176. Jurgen Moltmann, Theology of Hope (London: SCM Press, 1967), p.305, 325.

177. Ibid., p.305. Moltmann considers the horizon of eschatological hope after Christendom and within the context of 'modern society' in the 1960s, pp.306-38; but his insights remain germane to a post-modern context and have been developed in his more recent theological writings which have addressed typical post-modern and post-industrial concerns such as the environment, nuclear warfare, human rights and feminism. See, for example, Creating a Just Future (London: SCM Press, 1989), and History and the Triune God, (London: SCM Press, 1991).

178. Duncan B. Forrester, Beliefs, Values and Policies: Conviction Politics in a Secular Age (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp.98-102. *Mystique* and *politique* are terms used by Charles Peguy, which Forrester expounds, pp.98-9, in a way parallel to our own distinction between democratic citizenship in a post-modern nation and the other, eschatological citizenship which sees political questions of autonomy and self-determination within the 'horizon of the expectation of the Kingdom of God': pp.98, 99, '*Mystique* is something that calls for unconditional loyalty, that makes totalitarian claims, that speaks of the ultimate and the transcendent.... Theology's role is to be the guardian, critic and expounder of this *mystique*.... *Politique*, on the other hand, for Peguy is essential for human flourishing. It

has accordingly an immense dignity and importance. But politique deals in relativities and compromises; it chooses evils rather than realizing an absolute and unconditional good. The ultimate issues of life are inaccessible to it. Politique involves the prudent balancing of interests and claims, the maintenance of a relative peace, and the constant struggle to achieve a tolerable approximation to justice. Mystique is ... the Lord's song in a strange land. It speaks of the New Jerusalem, the polity which politique can never build, in which unity and harmony and an undisturbed fellowship with God will be the basis for true peace and justice.'

179. For a theological critique of this 'political monotheism', see Jurgen Moltmann, The Trinity and the Kingdom of God, pp.191-222; and Giuseppe Ruggieri, 'God and Power: A Political Function of Monotheism?', in Concilium 177 (February 1985), pp.16-27.

180. See Alan Miller, A Bill of Rights for Scotland.

181. On the prospects for the Church of Scotland's and the churches' future political role in Scotland, see Graham Walker, Tom Gallagher, Sermons and Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Scotland, p.107-8: '... the church's concern with the social consequences of ideologically driven policies [in the 1980s] was occurring at a time when community-based politics seemed to be in a parlous condition even in outposts of non-Thatcherism like Scotland. A much more splintered and privatized world that was consumer and leisure-orientated with the video as its symbol was recognisable even in Scotland. The church was affected in membership terms - down to around 837,000 in 1983 and showing no signs of improving - and in its ability to mobilise active citizens able to defend gospel values where they were threatened by the pace of technological or political change. Nevertheless, the Kirk's quiet but persistent influence on different aspects of corporate and social life in Scotland should not be discounted. In the event of the drive for self-government reaching a successful conclusion, it may well be that it will emerge from its limbo-like existence to play a far from negligible role in helping Scottish civil society to adapt to shouldering new responsibilities.... Whether others come forward to exercise the weighty responsibilities that Scots (however infrequently the majority may now choose to celebrate their faith) are surprisingly content to see devolved upon religious shoulders, could well decide if the church's ability to influence political culture and its attendant values is merley in limbo or instead has entered headlong decline.' It is the argument of this thesis that it is the identity paradigm of the Christian nation which has entered headlong decline, but that the new exemplars and emerging models of the liberation paradigm may yet influence an

autonomous Scotland's political culture and attendant values; especially through a marginal church and a new prophetic consciousness, sociologically and theologically free to help create alternative imagined political communities of Scottish nationhood within the wider world and eschatological horizon of the Kingdom of God.

182. R. A. Markus, Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.167.

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid., p.173.

186. On the damaging political imagery of imperial kingship and political monotheism for an understanding of christology and political theology, see Jurgen Moltmann, The Trinity and the Kingdom of God, pp.191-222; Guiseppe Ruggieri, 'God and Power: A Political Function of Monotheism', pp.16-27; David Nicholls, Deity and Domination.

187. Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1978), p.99.

188. John T. McNeill (ed.), Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Westminster Press, 1960), p.548 (Bk.III.ii.6).

189. See n.4, above.

190. Revelation 21:22-22:2 (RSV): 'And I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb. And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine upon it, for the glory of the Lord is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb. By its light shall the nations walk; and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it, and its gates shall never be shut by day - and there shall be no night there; they shall bring into it the glory and honour of the nations. But nothing unclean shall enter it, nor any who practise abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life. The he showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city; also, on either side of the river, the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.' This is the horizon of eschatological hope within which a liberating paradigm would exercise its

dual citizenship, and the ministry of a marginal church, and prophetic consciousness within the social ecology of a post-modern, 'open nation'. For a liberating hermeneutic of the eschatological hope of the nations, in this and a related Old Testament passage in Isaiah 60, see Richard J Mouw, When the Kings Come Marching In: Isaiah and the New Jerusalem (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983).

191. See Storrar, Scottish Identity, pp.110-36, and Mouw, n.190, above.

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